

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1847.

ART. I.—MADAME GUYON.*

PROFESSOR UPHAM has rendered another valuable service to the literary and religious world, by the publication of the volumes named below. They are not a compilation, but a new and carefully prepared memoir of Madame Guyon, drawn partly from her Autobiography, the whole of which has never appeared in English, and which is here used in connection with other sources of information, illustrated by passages from all her writings. Nor do they consist of a mere literal translation, either of the Autobiography or the miscellaneous writings. Professor Upham has performed the laborious task of presenting the woman and her opinions in his own language, from a careful study of her voluminous works, which make in French no less than forty volumes; attempting, "by studying their spirit, by readjusting their arrangement, by the separation of what is essential and what is not essential, and by a judicious combination, to give the true picture, so far as can now be done, of what she was, her thought, her feeling and action, her trials and triumphs."

Madame Guyon is often introduced in the first person, detailing her own experience or explaining her views. The passages thus given, which make a large portion of the work,

* *Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Motte Guyon; together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray.* By THOMAS C. UPHAM, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 431, 380.

are distinguished by quotation marks, and we only regret to learn from the Preface, what many readers may not observe, and would not suppose, that these passages, presented as quotations, are not in the precise words of the writer, but an "*interpreted* translation ; a translation of the spirit rather than the letter." This may have been necessary in order to condense so much within so small a space, and to connect and illustrate the many facts and opinions which are loosely thrown together in the original Life. We believe the work has been done as thoroughly and as candidly as it could well be. Still it is a difficult and a hazardous task. Every writer would prefer to speak in his own words, when he is represented as speaking in the first person, and explaining his own views ; and every reader would prefer that he should. This is the only objection that we think will be made, or can fairly be made, to the present work. With our knowledge of the author, it does not lessen our confidence or our interest. We reserve, of course, the right to translate or interpret for ourselves, and we do not forget either the vagueness of words, or the unconscious and unavoidable bias of an interpreter's doctrinal views ; especially as we have one or two strong intimations of these views. But these intimations are altogether fewer than we should have expected from any one. We regard the work as not only honorable to the writer, but every way valuable, a work demanded by the greatness of the subject, and sure to be useful to all earnest readers. We have read it with intense interest. We cannot conceive that any one can read it without religious instruction and impression. It compels the mind to turn in upon itself. It brings out our own secret or slighted errors and sins. It kindles pure and very high aspirations. It gives a better view than has been commonly entertained, and yet we think a correct view, of one of the most remarkable women of her own or any age. And we shall be greatly surprised, if it do not aid the spiritual life of multitudes, irrespectively of opinions, and quicken the desire, too low and languid in the Christian Church, of rising nearer the Christian mark of true spirituality and pure love.

That the doctrine of "Pure Love," as held by Madame Guyon and Fenelon, has been much misapprehended, we have always thought, but never saw so clearly as in this work. Rightly viewed, and as these writers themselves seem to us to have really regarded it, with all their exaggeration of

phrase, it is no other than the doctrine of Christ and the Gospel, given in the two great laws of loving God with *all* the heart, and loving our neighbour *as ourselves*. It is easy to call this enthusiasm, and when expressed in any other language than that of the Gospel, or even then, if urged and carried out in any practical application, it always has been called enthusiasm, or worse. In Madame Guyon, it has been considered fanaticism, but never, we believe, in Fenelon. Yet Fenelon was almost her disciple in this doctrine, he was her avowed defender through life, he suffered with her for the reputed heresy, and differed from her in no essential that we can find. Why, then, the wide difference in popular estimation? Partly, perhaps, from the natural difference of the sexes in the indulgence and expression of sentiment, partly from the unwillingness of every Church, not least the Roman, to be reprov'd or instructed by a woman, and partly from admitted errors and extravagances in this particular case. Every one sees that Madame Guyon made mistakes and fell into extravagance in her early period of emotion and instruction, as seen particularly in her Autobiography. It is unfortunate that this work, from which most opinions have been and will be formed of her, was written at the suggestion and direction of her spiritual counsellor, not from her own desire; and that she was induced to write down every thing that occurred to her mind or experience, contrary to her own wishes, and with no idea that the record thus made would ever be given to the public. It is, in fact, a mere diary, written hastily, and exhibiting all her weaknesses. That those weaknesses have been marked and magnified, we are not surprised. They are of a kind to incite unfair notice. A natural vanity, which once spent itself upon personal charms, was not soon or ever wholly destroyed. Traces of it may be seen in her recital of peculiar mental and spiritual experiences, of remarkable success in all attempts to convince and convert others, and even of unaccountable business powers given her whenever wanted. This form of self-complacency, so common to such temperaments, and running often into a superstitious faith in a personal providence, may account for the prevailing idea of her character as that of a mere visionary. But the weakness, though real, has been greatly exaggerated. Her enemies would of course make the most and the worst of it. They seized upon every unguarded expression or unwise illustration which her free thought and fertile fancy suggested.

Some of these were ludicrous, and have been repeated and enlarged in every sketch we have seen of her life, to the exclusion of all that would explain or redeem.

Other extenuating facts are to be remembered, if we would do her common justice. Before she was sixteen, this enthusiastic girl, whose powers and appearance had made a sensation in the best circles of Paris, was married, by her father's choice, not her own, to a man of thirty-eight, whom she had seen but a few days, and between whom and herself there were no affinities. With this man, M. Guyon, and his vulgar, tyrannical mother, who succeeded in alienating first the husband and afterward the children, she lived twelve years in constant suffering. A portion of this suffering she undoubtedly induced or increased, by an undue devotion of her time and affections to formal religion and lonely meditation, to the neglect of domestic duty. But such neglect, besides being provoked and almost forced upon her, was but temporary. She soon saw and corrected the error on her own part. On the other, it was never corrected; and few there are, we apprehend, who could bear this perpetual, galling, and often bitter trial, with greater patience, or a more Christian return of good for evil, than did she until her husband's death. The rest of her life was devoted to the culture and communication of religious affections, with an ever-active benevolence; and during most of this period she was subjected to various forms of obloquy and persecution for opinion's sake. This trial, also, she bore cheerfully and nobly. A more striking instance of the union of gentleness with firmness, patience in hearing and intelligence in answering all questions and cavils, we do not remember. Taking her own exposition of the opinions considered most heretical and dangerous, as in her first remarkable and trying interview with Bossuet, the most powerful ecclesiastic of the age, and the most implacable of enemies, it is impossible not to respect the powers of her intellect, or not to admire the elevation of her spiritual aims. Compare them as we may in learning or in logic, the Bishop of Meaux can boast nothing over his feminine opponent in moral aspiration. It is something, that he who had assailed, and, as was thought by the whole Church, had conquered, the leading reformers and highest theologians, was willing to contend with a woman for days and months, — that he joined two other heads of the Church as a commission appointed by the king to examine her, passed no act of condemnation even of her

doctrines then, and gave her a paper favorable to her conduct and character, in his own name. This paper Bossuet attempted afterwards to withdraw, instigated and wearied, as he confesses, by her many opposers, and he changed at last into a vindictive and successful foe, both of her and her defender, the high-minded Fenelon.

We attempt not the full enumeration of facts, most of which are probably known to our readers. The place which Madame Guyon occupied in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; the position she assumed as in some sense a reformer of the Church, to whose service she was always devoted, but whose proneness to formal religion she deplored and declared; the persecutions to which this subjected her, from petty vexations, vulgar abuse, brutal assault, and attempts at poisoning, up to imprisonment by the royal edict in a convent for eight months, afterward repeated, and ending in four years' confinement to the Bastille without favor of any kind, and banishment for the rest of her life to the city of Blois; the sympathy and support which she yet received from very many in common and exalted stations; the concessions which her conduct extorted from her most virulent opposers; the long and able controversies of which she was the occasion, dividing almost equally the dignitaries and judges at Rome, and holding the Pope long in suspense, unwilling to condemn until Louis required it; most of all, the enlightened approval and self-sacrificing fidelity of one of the highest minds and most perfect men that Christianity itself has produced, whose name is now known and revered by millions who never heard of Bossuet, — these are some of the facts which clothe this narrative with singular interest. It makes an instructive and melancholy chapter in human story, — not the only one, but the more melancholy for that. If it may be taken as a specimen of Christians' treatment of one another, who can wonder that this religion finds obstacles and infidels? What had Madame Guyon said or done, what had Fenelon said or done, that they should be followed by suspicion and malediction, and in the end be visited with all the punishment that a powerful but politic hierarchy dared to inflict?

This is to us the most important point, and the only one on which we can at all enlarge; — not the fact of persecution only, but the cause; the nature of the offence, and the truth it teaches as to men's views of religion, and their low attainment. Let us look at this for a moment. The boldest and

most exceptionable form in which we find Madame Guyon's views expressed are in the Act of Consecration which the Prioress of the Benedictines drew up for her, and which she signed at the age of twenty-two, — in which she pledges herself to be the "spouse of Jesus Christ," taking him as her husband, and accepting "as a part of my marriage portion the temptations and sorrows, the crosses and contempt, which fell to him." This is not language that we should use ; but it is the language of that Church and age ; it is authorized, almost to the letter, by the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments ; and we see nothing in it to condemn her, more than many others. Again, when Bossuet went to interrogate her, before he brought his terrible power to bear upon the heretic, his chief charge seems to have been, that her doctrines involved the assertion of "an inward experience above the common experience of Christians, even those who have a high reputation for piety" ! To his question about her favorite and offensive phrase, the "fixed state," she mildly replied, — "All that is meant by the fixed state is a state which is established, which is comparatively firm, which is based more upon principle than upon feeling, and lives more by faith than by emotion." She was constantly accused of undervaluing, if not scorning, the austerities and mortifications of the Church ; but she only insisted, that, while physical sufferings are clearly a part of God's discipline, and highly salutary, they are not to be sought or self-inflicted, but only received as God may appoint them. So in regard to Christ, and the great doctrine of sanctification by faith ; the chief and offending difference between her and the Church was, that Christ, when received by faith, "can save not only from the penalty of past sins, but from the polluting and condemning power of present sins ; that he has power not only to make us holy, but to *keep* us holy." In fine, her crime, for which she suffered more than death, was, that she made it practicable, and therefore a duty, to be always "pure," striving to be always "perfect" in faith and love. As she says in the beginning of one of the simple sonnets which she wrote in the prison to which the doctrine doomed her, — "Love constitutes my crime." What a crime for a Christian tribunal, and a Bastile !

The life of Madame Guyon was a life of active charity, as well as inward rest. That unfortunate word, Quietism, which images to most minds a state of indolent inaction or

wild reverie, calling itself piety, found no such response in her heart or life. She does not appear to have known much of Molinos, who was considered the father of Quietism in that century, and who was imprisoned for it. True, her books, when condemned, were classed with his "*Spiritual Guide*," the doctrines of which were thought so dangerous. The object of that work, we believe, was to set forth the tranquillity of a soul absorbed in God, dead to all other thoughts and feelings, disturbed by no outward events, and resting in no outward observance. So far evidently Madame Guyon was a Quietist, though we do not find that she ever took the name. Tranquil she certainly was, amid all reproach and persecution, to a degree that we may all covet. But indolent, or merely meditative, she never was. Early left a widow, with wealth and beauty, and often renewed proposals of marriage, she turned from all to labor in the remote and least favored portions of France, where she passed several years as a missionary, under the counsel of spiritual directors, but unpaid, suspected of the worst heresy, thwarted in her benevolent plans, persecuted from place to place, yet still working on in uncomplaining faith and disinterested love. Disinterested in a worldly sense, to an unusual degree, her large fortune she seems scarcely to have viewed as her own. At Paris, during the famine of 1680, she dealt out bread to the hungry without stint, and found employment for great numbers of the children of the poor. As soon as the distress ceased, she went upon her mission; and during a part of it, driven by her relentless opponents into an obscure place, she lived in a poor cottage, with but one good room, which she gave up to her daughter and maid, ascending by a ladder to her own unfurnished chamber. Of this place she says, — "Never did I enjoy a greater content than in this hovel. It seemed to me entirely conformable to the littleness and simplicity which characterize the true life in Christ." Of course there was enthusiasm in this, fanaticism, if you will, — any thing but selfishness. If she did it for fame, she was satisfied with a kind that satisfies few. The privation may have been easy; but she took with it contumely, constant annoyance, and literal buffeting. Even in this hovel, where she only asked to live in the peace and pleasure of doing good, she was brutally assailed, her little garden and arbour destroyed, her windows dashed in with stones which fell at her feet, and the house surrounded at night by men threatening personal abuse, so that again she was compelled

to flee. Her enemies were plainly determined that she should not enjoy too much quietism ! But they had no power to disturb it, for it was not outward. She could change her place, and still work on ; tending the sick, preparing linen and ointments for wounds, teaching poor children the alphabet and the catechism, and diffusing the truth and blessing of pure love. It was in these occupations, at the foot of the Alps, in the very place where Gibbon and Voltaire afterward wrote, and Rousseau and Byron nourished their wild genius amid nature's grandeur, that this singular woman, in the power of a different inspiration, matured in her silent heart the doctrine of perfect faith, and first uttered to her own listening ear that new word in connection with faith, — justification. New in itself it was not ; but strange and startling to a church that sought it not in the Scriptures, and stood upon a different foundation. Early in life had Madame Guyon studied the Bible, and committed large portions to memory. This may have aided her in finding that neglected truth, and with her ardent temperament carrying it to its utmost extent. But little did she know then of the effect it was to have upon the Church, or the condign punishment it was to bring upon her. She never recalled the word or withheld the truth, and the punishment never ceased. She lived nearly forty years after this, but only in obstructed toil, in persecution, prison, and banishment. She died an exile, in 1717, at the age of sixty-nine.

The Church of Rome has enough to answer for ; but it is not alone, perhaps not the most inconsistent, in punishing those who place inward goodness before and above every thing outward, and regard as practicable and imperative the injunction, "Be ye perfect." Of this flagrant inconsistency have all churches been guilty. And what a duty is thrown upon us by this fact itself ! How should it search our consciences and quicken our zeal ! We welcome every life, and every book, that will thus reprove and kindle us. We read our own shame in such pages as these before us. By their very disclosure of weakness and error, with so much of excellence and usefulness, they show us what a Christian should be and might do. They impress us less with the dangers of fanaticism, than with the sins of the Church, the wants of the world, the capacity, responsibility, and destiny of every human soul.

E. B. H.

ART. II.—CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF INTEREST
IN CRITICAL THEOLOGY.

[An Address, delivered before the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School," July 16, 1847. By GEORGE R. NOYES, D. D.]

I do not know that this society has definitely prescribed the nature of the subject to which our attention should be called on an occasion like the present. But as we have other times and places in which the practical duties of the Christian ministry are usually discussed, I suppose that in this place and on this occasion the subject should have some relation to theology as a science.

At our last anniversary, one of our respected brothers proposed as a theme for extemporaneous discussion the causes of the decline of interest in critical theology. As we have usually had little or no time for debate at our anniversary meetings, I have thought it might be well to take possession of the subject thus proposed, especially as a debate upon it may be forwarded, rather than hindered, by the topics which I shall suggest. By critical theology I shall understand, in my remarks, the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, and what is connected with this department of theological literature. I exclude the consideration of doctrinal theology and ecclesiastical history for no other reason than that I may contract the limits of my subject.

Before entering into a discussion of the causes of the alleged decline of interest in critical theology, it may be well, however, to inquire in what sense and in what degree the assertion of such a decline is just and true, what are the qualifications with which it should be accompanied, and whether it applies to one only or to all classes of Christians.

Taking this country at large, it appears to me, that, instead of a decline, there has been no inconsiderable progress in the department of Biblical literature within the memory of those of us who have arrived at middle age. Among several denominations of Christians, — for instance, the Baptists, the Universalists, and the Methodists, — the increase of interest in Biblical learning has been great and obvious. Is it not probable that these denominations, in which improvement has been most marked, have only partaken of a spirit which has been common to all denominations? Our theological

seminaries, the oldest of which was founded less than forty years ago, excited an interest in the critical study of the Scriptures, and furnished aids for its pursuit, which were not before known in our country. If the degree of interest in the subject is at all to be measured by the number of elementary works relating to it, such as grammars and lexicons, which have been published within the last ten or fifteen years, we may flatter ourselves that there has been no inconsiderable progress in Biblical studies among us. Of Hebrew Grammars, there have been printed five or six editions of that by Professor Stuart, three or four of the translation of Gesenius by Professor Conant, and one of the full and excellent Grammar by Dr. Nordheimer, not to mention others of less note. Within this time have also appeared several editions of the admirable Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius, and of the New Testament Lexicon by Dr. Robinson, in which he has transferred to our language the results of the labors of Dr. Wahl, of Germany, with additions of his own. We have also had within the same period several editions of the comprehensive Grammar of the New Testament idioms, by Dr. Winer. Valuable Introductions to the Old Testament by Jahn and De Wette, and to the New Testament by Hug, have been made accessible to those acquainted with only the English language. Most of the works to which allusion has been made are translations, it is true; and are by no means so flattering indications of American scholarship as they would have been if original works. But numerous editions of them would not have been called for, if they had not been to some extent used. If we admit, what I have some reason to believe true, that, of those who purchase a grammar of the Hebrew or Greek, but few become proficient in those languages, it is still certain that the large demand for the works which have been enumerated proves any thing rather than a decline of interest in Biblical literature in the country at large within the last twenty years.

Within the same period of time have appeared several original Commentaries on portions of the Scriptures, which, though not of first-rate excellence and likely to stand the test of time, are certainly in advance of the popular English commentaries. Should a system of theology be attempted by a well-educated divine of any denomination in our country, we should not expect it to be deformed by the miserable misinterpretation and misapplication of the lan-

guage of the Scriptures which mark the writings of Edwards and Dwight.

Within the memory of all of us, two works connected with Biblical literature have appeared in our country, which may challenge the praise of being superior to any thing on the same subjects which has been produced within the same period in England or Europe. I refer to the work on the Genuineness of the Gospels by Mr. Norton, and the Biblical Researches in Palestine by Dr. Robinson. The work of Mr. Furness on "Jesus and his Biographers," however we might at a proper time qualify our praise of it, deserves also to be mentioned as a highly creditable contribution to the Biblical literature of our country.

We may safely assert, that never were greater means enjoyed in this country for the pursuit of critical studies, than within these last twenty years. If, then, our course has been retrograde instead of progressive, it is peculiarly disgraceful to those from whom the pursuit and patronage of critical studies is to be expected. This is the more evident, when we consider that there has been undeniable progress in classical criticism, as is proved not only by the number and value of the elementary works for the study of the Greek and Latin languages, but by the excellent editions of portions of the Greek and Latin classics, which have appeared both at New Haven and Cambridge.

On the whole, then, with respect to the country at large, we have no reason to complain of a decline of interest in critical theology. But perhaps the decline which is lamented is supposed to relate to the denomination to which most of us belong, and to a very recent period. In regard to the question thus stated it may be more difficult to form an opinion. That there is an undue neglect of critical studies in many of our young men and in many of our clergy, that we have not contributed all that we ought to the advancement of Biblical literature, will, I suppose, be admitted by all. There is certainly a general impression that there has been a decline of interest in the subject, which is not to be supposed to be wholly destitute of foundation. I find, however, that the same impression is prevalent in some other denominations as regards their own body. Perhaps our denomination is chargeable with neglect in regard to the public provision for its pursuit and encouragement. In the Baptist seminary at Newton, where the number of students

has not usually been greater than at ours, four professors of theology have been supported. At Andover, where the number of students of late has been about double that of ours, there are no less than five professors, who have occasional aid from assistant teachers. We have only two professors, and a considerable portion of their time and attention is demanded for the religious services of the College, with which they are connected. For the department of systematic theology, which is considered of so great importance in all the other theological schools of our country, we have no professor. The number of respectable scholars in other denominations of Christians is owing to nothing so much as to the demand for them created by the numerous theological professorships throughout the country. There are about twenty in New England alone supported by the Congregationalists and Baptists. The chance of obtaining one in our denomination is so small, that no one can be supposed to pursue critical studies for the express object of qualifying himself for it. Whatever proficiency in critical studies exists in our denomination is the effect of disinterested devotion to their pursuit.

It should also be remembered, that, from the nature of these studies, there have always been many, even among the clergy, who, from their turn of mind and other causes, have been averse to them; so that first-rate scholars in this department of learning, in any country, have always been extremely few. We must guard against the common fault of being *laudatores temporis acti*. It may be doubted whether there was ever a time when a greater number of our clergy were better able to make a thorough investigation of any subject of critical theology, and prepare it for publication, than at the present time. It may be, indeed, that a greater proportion of such writers than would be wished are in or past the meridian of life. It is to be hoped, however, that the neglect of critical studies which is complained of is partial in its extent; that, though they may be neglected and despised by some, they are valued and pursued by others, even to a greater extent than formerly. Their unpopularity among a portion of the laity may be attributed to progress, rather than to decline, in the department of theology to which they relate.

Having made these limitations and qualifications, we are prepared to discuss the *causes* of the alleged decline of interest in critical and exegetical studies relating to the Scriptures,

to the extent to which it exists, without exactly defining it, and of the undue neglect of them, which is beyond doubt.

The first cause which I shall mention of a want of interest in some of the subjects belonging to Biblical literature is one which we can contemplate with pleasure. I refer to the satisfactory results which have been gained, and the consequent narrowing of the field of inquiry in this department of study. There is no motive for voyages of exploration, in regard to a country which has been thoroughly explored, and brought within the circle of familiar knowledge. This consideration accounts, at least, for a diminution of interest in that department of criticism which relates to the text of the New Testament. When attention was first called to the New Testament manuscripts, and it was announced that various readings were counted by thousands and tens of thousands, it was natural that the Christian community should be alarmed, as if the integrity of the Scriptures were at stake, and the very foundations of the Christian faith in danger of being unsettled; while others had their hopes greatly excited, as if Christianity was to appear in a new dress through a mere revisal of the text of the New Testament. Hence it was natural that great interest should be felt in the subject of manuscripts, the modes in which their antiquity and value were to be discovered, the true system according to which they should be classified, and the various principles and rules by which false readings might be detected, and the true maintained. The occasion called forth a sufficient number of learned Christian critics, and in consequence of the immense labor which they have bestowed on the subject, we have the gratifying result, now acknowledged by all scholars, that the text of the New Testament has been transmitted to us in remarkable purity, much greater than that of any Greek or Roman classic; that by far the greater number of variations are of no authority, or of no importance, making no difference in the sense; and that it is a matter of very little consequence, in regard to the study and history of our religion, whether we take the received text, formed, as we know it was, on the authority of a few manuscripts, which happened to be at hand, or the very best text which the most laborious and judicious criticism has produced.

Now, without denying that something remains to be done for the text of the New Testament, especially for the settling

of a few disputed readings, and that the clergy, if not others, should have an acquaintance with the literary history of the text, and the mode in which the Scriptures have been transmitted to us from age to age, we may certainly admit the happy results of this branch of critical inquiry as affording a very plausible apology for diminished interest in its pursuit.

Of the results of exegetical inquiry relating to the meaning of the Scriptures we cannot speak so favorably. But it cannot be doubted that the field of inquiry has been somewhat narrowed by the results which have been gained. Much Scriptural knowledge has become familiar and commonplace, which was gained only by extensive research on the part of Biblical scholars. There is much less opportunity for distinction than formerly, by mere extent of learning or novelty of views in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Hereafter, he must be regarded as the most original critic, who displays the truest judgment in relation to opinions which have been already proposed.

There is, however, so much which remains unsettled in regard to the authority and meaning of the Old Testament and the New, and the connection between them; in regard to the nature of prophecy, and the office and mission of the Hebrew prophets; in regard to the christology of the Old Testament, and the manner in which it was understood by writers of the New; and in regard to the views of Christ and the Apostles respecting the design and final issues of the Christian dispensation, — not to mention other subjects, the diverse opinions concerning which divide Christendom into sects, — that, if what is settled in regard to the meaning of the Scriptures be a cause of diminished interest in the study of them, it is most unreasonable that it should be so. Of this every one must be convinced who reflects that there exists not a respectable commentary on the Old Testament in the English language, none made on the same principles of interpretation on which all other books are explained; and none on the New Testament at all corresponding to the wants of the times, especially in relation to the new questions in the province of historical criticism which have been started by the German antisupernaturalists.

Another cause of diminished interest in the critical study of the Scriptures, which we may contemplate with a degree of pleasure, is the new interest which has been manifested by

the clergy and other enlightened friends of religion in the application of the acknowledged principles of Christianity to the reform of social abuses, and to various objects of Christian benevolence and common humanity. If, in the enthusiastic pursuit of the various moral and benevolent enterprises which distinguish the present from any former period of the Church, some of the clergy have forgotten their obligations to the cause of pure truth and the advancement of theological science, and thus given occasion for the application of the precept, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone," we may be reconciled to the temporary neglect of critical studies by the importance of the cause which has occasioned it. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that this great subject of the application of Christianity to social abuses did not take nearly exclusive possession of the mind of Dr. Channing, until he had rendered those invaluable services to the cause of religious truth, which will probably, in the end, do more for the advancement of human happiness than those of his writings which have the abatement of social evils more immediately in view.

Again, the modified views in regard to the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, which have been gaining ground among Christians of all denominations, have had an obvious tendency to lessen the feeling of the necessity and importance of a critical study of the Scriptures. The influence of this cause is of course most likely to be felt by those who deny any peculiar authority even to the declarations of Jesus Christ as resulting from the miracles by which his Divine mission was attested. Of what special use, it is asked, to settle the meaning of language, to which no specific and peculiar authority is attached, when discovered? This plea for the neglect of Biblical criticism is, indeed, insufficient. For, on the supposition that no higher authority belongs to the books of the Old and New Testament than they can claim as human compositions, when we consider their intrinsic value, the influence they have had on the religious ideas of the world, and the estimation in which they are now held by the great body of the Christian Church, it would seem to be disgraceful to one professing to be a teacher of religion to be destitute of a thorough knowledge of their meaning.

In connection, too, with the denial of any peculiar authority in the declarations of Christ, false views of the means by

which truth is to be discovered have contributed to the neglect of critical theology. There is a prevalent notion of universal inspiration, or intuitive perception, extending not merely to the first principles of faith, but to nearly all truth on all subjects. It is not singular that they, who persuade themselves that they can *see* the truth on all subjects by intuition with as much ease and certainty as the eye discerns shapes and forms, should decline the labor of mastering the principles and rules of interpretation, and the various learning by which alone the exact and full meaning of any of the writings of antiquity can be understood. I shall not venture so far beyond my province as to discuss the question, whether there is an independent faculty of reason, which takes immediate cognizance of ideas, as the eye discovers outward forms. It may be that the notions to which I have alluded as mischievous are only the truth pushed to an extreme, or the spiritual philosophy "run mad." No one can be more fully persuaded than I am of the existence of certain primary principles of faith, implanted or inspired in man by the Almighty, to distrust or deny which is to lay the foundation of unlimited skepticism. In order to believe in a supernatural revelation, we must believe in the existence of a God who can make a revelation, and who possesses such moral perfections that he will not deceive us. It appears to me one of the most dangerous and fundamental of errors, into which some have fallen in their zeal to establish the importance of a miraculous revelation, to deny or undervalue that knowledge of God and of duty which comes by the light of reason, and which could not be suggested by mere outward phenomena, were it not for certain primary and immediate principles of faith, implanted in man by the Source of all truth. But the notion, which has prevailed among some of our young men, of being able to come at the truth on all subjects without examination, without evidence, and without argument, which despises reasoning in its legitimate sphere, and sets up a temporary individual feeling, or impression, as an infallible criterion of what is true and right, is destructive not only of interest and progress in any science, but of all mental energy. I have seen sad examples of the blasting influence of such notions on the intellectual character of young men, especially in leading them to regard critical studies of every kind as useless or worthless. Every investigation of particular subjects relating to theology

gives, in their opinion, mere fragmentary views. They must stand on some central mount of vision, and see the whole domain of truth at a glance, and gain an acquaintance with the parts of the region of human knowledge by first obtaining a knowledge of the whole. It is due to the cause of truth, as well as to the sanity and usefulness of many well-meaning young men, that they whose views of the extent and value of immediate spiritual vision are the highest should define with greater precision, than has been usual of late, its limits, and the subjects to which it extends ; and give their disciples more distinctly to understand what are the laws upon which mental energy depends, what are the conditions on which clear and accurate views can be gained, and what the means by which the truth, on most subjects, at least, is to be acquired.

But the principal cause of the undue neglect of the critical study of the Scriptures, and especially of its unpopularity, and the jealousy and fear with which it is regarded by many at the present day, remains to be mentioned. It is a prevalent feeling of disappointment at what critical inquiry has been able to effect for the cause of pure Christianity and its recommendation to the skeptically inclined, and of alarm on account of its supposed positive tendency to unsettle the faith of Christians, and even to undermine the authority of the Christian revelation, so far as it is founded in history.

In regard to the first point, namely, disappointment at what Biblical criticism and interpretation have been able to effect for the cause of pure Christianity, perhaps it has been occasioned in part by too sanguine hopes. Perhaps some of us may have anticipated from a sounder interpretation of the Scriptures alone what could be reasonably expected only from the general progress and enlightenment of the public mind in connection with it. We did not make sufficient account of the consideration, that when a true interpretation is presented in books, it finds speedy access to the minds of very few in the community, and that when it is presented to the mind, it is likely to receive no better reception from a great number of readers than one founded in mere fancy. We did not always consider, that, in order that an exposition of a passage may be accepted, there are required not only good reasons on the part of the interpreter, but a good power of appreciating reasons on the part of the reader or hearer. Perhaps, too,

we undervalued the force of prejudice and feeling in favor of that which has been long received, and which is supported by interesting associations. It appears to me, that all reasonable expectations in regard to the progress of pure Christianity in consequence of just views of interpretation have been realized in the more rational exhibition of Christian doctrine, not by one denomination only, but by all denominations of Christians in New England, and in the greater respect to Christianity from those who were in a state of hostility to it. So far as Biblical interpretation is concerned, the results are such as to give great encouragement to perseverance in this department of study.

The charge of the tendency of Biblical criticism to unsettle the faith of individuals is so indefinite in its nature, and may be presented in so many different points of view, that it is difficult to give so brief a consideration of it as my limits demand. It is undoubtedly true, to a certain extent, that when religious feelings and religious faith have been associated with certain errors, it is impossible to eradicate those errors without danger of unsettling the faith of the ignorant and indiscriminating. This is the necessary condition of all progress in the truth. To avoid the evil, you must have a perfect stagnation of the intellect, so far as religion is concerned, and never make a step of progress from the most odious forms which false religion has ever assumed. When our Saviour said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword," he showed that he was fully aware of the incidental evils which would attend the discharge of his mission of reform; but he saw a glorious future beyond, a reign of truth and of peace, which justified him in going on.

Besides, supposing the unsettling of the faith of the multitude to have been the consequence of Biblical criticism in as high a degree as any one has pretended, it remains to be asked, whether inquiry and progress are the only means of unsettling the faith of the multitude. What does ecclesiastical history teach in regard to the causes of unbelief? Has Christianity in times past suffered most from inquiry, progress, criticism, or from hypocrisy, hollow professions, empty formalism, and ignorant bigotry? What was it that unsettled the faith of the multitude of the French nation before and at the time of the Revolution? Not religious investigation, not Biblical criticism, certainly. What is it that now hinders the faith of the great body of the intelligent in Spain and Italy?

We have never heard that religious inquiry or Biblical criticism had been pursued to any extravagant extent in those countries. Let any one who would know something of the causes of infidelity read Blanco White's "Doblado's Letters from Spain."

The progress of correct views in regard to the true character of the Scriptures, as being a collection of human writings on various subjects, containing among other things a revelation from God to man, rather than as being as a whole and in all its parts the word of God, may have had an influence in unsettling the faith of some, who had been taught to regard every text and sentence in the Bible as an infallible test of Divine truth. But I imagine the faith of still greater numbers has been impaired by the old doctrine, which makes the Supreme Being accountable for all the actions and words ascribed to him in the Old Testament. Nothing can be more likely to unsettle the Christian faith of the intelligent inquirer, than to put all the histories and books of the Old Testament on a par, in respect to credibility, with the writings of Matthew, John, and Paul. Indeed, this notion of the infallible inspiration and equal value of every book and part of a book of the whole Scriptures has been a "stone of stumbling and a rock of offence" to thousands of honest minds. As intelligence advances, it must be more and more perceived to be a very millstone hung round the neck of Christianity.

The result, then, of the argument is, that though free investigation or scientific criticism may incidentally unsettle the faith of the indiscriminating, yet the absence or the stifling of a spirit of inquiry will produce this effect in a much higher degree; not to mention that this unsettling of faith, which is ascribed to criticism, is more justly to be charged upon those who have claimed for the Scriptures what they never claimed for themselves, and have staked the truth of our religion on as mere an assumption as that of the infallibility of the Pope.

But still I hear the question, Where is this process of criticism to stop? Is there not danger of going too far? What shall we say of the apparent results of criticism in undermining the historical foundations of Christianity, which have been manifested in Germany, and in a measure in other countries, and which are represented in the writings of Paulus and Strauss? When we see critics of learning and talent, like

those who have been mentioned, setting forth, as the result of their inquiries, that Christianity has no authority beyond that which belongs to it as a comparatively pure system of natural religion, and Jesus Christ as a mere Jewish Rabbi, distinguished as a religious teacher only by his genius and the excellence of his character, is it not time to pause in our investigations, and give up this boasted science of Biblical criticism, which seems to lead to such appalling results ?

In these questions I have no more than expressed the extensive alarm which prevails among many of the clergy, as well as the laity, in this country and in Europe, in relation to the investigations of scientific criticism. It cannot, I think, be doubted, that not only the cause of pure and rational Christianity among Protestants, but Protestantism itself, has received a temporary shock from the deistical publications of German critics, and of those who have adopted their views. A morbid dread of inquiry, founded on any thing rather than true faith, has for some time been reacting against reform in theology, and driving men back upon the past. They are seen taking refuge in an old and venerable church, or in fixed symbols and confessions of faith, from the painful responsibility, or from the fearful results, of resting on Scripture and reason. The Church of Rome, as being the oldest of the pretenders to infallibility, having most of the quality of fixedness, and being supported by the greatest multitude of voices, has probably received the largest accession of members in consequence of this temporary alarm. It is in this state of things that we discern one cause of the unpopularity, if not of the neglect, of Biblical criticism.

The first remark which occurs in this connection is the unreasonableness and inconsistency of thus pretending to give up private judgment, and to escape from inquiry by deference to authority. Suppose, if you please, that absolute infallibility resides in some Church, yet how plain is it, that, unless private judgment also be infallible in the selection of the Church which you join, the infallibility of that Church is of no use to you ! You are in as much uncertainty as if it did not exist. Thus, in whatever church, confession, or catechism, one may seek refuge from the responsibility of inquiry and private judgment, he cannot shake it off. He is still responsible for the exercise of his reason in regard to the Church which he joins ; a work at least as difficult to be executed on rational grounds as that of settling the authority and the meaning of

the Scriptures. If you say that it is Divine grace, rather than reason, that must lead one to the true Church, we yet want a reason why Divine grace should be exercised in favor of one Church rather than another, so that the responsibility of private judgment cannot be escaped. Now private judgment in relation to the Scriptures, exercised in the highest degree and with the best helps, is Biblical criticism.

My second remark, in relation to the seeming incompatibility of criticism with Christian faith, which some have inferred from the fearful results to which distinguished German critics have arrived, is, that other German scholars, of at least equal eminence, have arrived at very different results. The views of Paulus, regarded as an attempt to explain the origin of narratives of miracles, lost whatever favor they once obtained long before the death of their author, and are now treated with contempt even by antisupernaturalists. We have no disposition to disparage the learning or talents of Dr. Strauss, nor do we think it wise to underrate the forces of an opponent ; but it certainly would be doing him full justice to rate him as high as Neander, Lucke, and several other living supernaturalists, distinguished for the freedom of their inquiries, not to mention those whose opinions are doubtful, or who may be charged with a dogmatical bias.

Further, suppose Strauss to be a fair representative of all the Biblical critics of Germany, in regard to the exclusion of all that is miraculous from Christianity, it would be unfair to place this result to the account of Biblical criticism. Nothing is more certain than that neither Paulus nor Strauss was led to the rejection of Christianity, as a positive or miraculous revelation, by historical criticism or Biblical interpretation. They regarded this point as settled by their metaphysical philosophy. The most which they attempt to do by their critical inquiries is to justify and strengthen a conclusion already adopted on metaphysical grounds. The problem which they undertake to solve in their *Lives of Jesus* is, — The impossibility or incredibility of miracles being established on metaphysical grounds, how is the existence of such narratives as the four Gospels to be accounted for or to be explained in harmony with such views ? In relation to the rejection of miracles, the English and Scotch deists, the rationalist Paulus, and the mythist Strauss, all stand on the same ground. The difference between them relates

only to their theories respecting the origin of narratives of miracles. The English and Scotch deists either did not undertake to explain the matter at all, or explained it on the ground of deception and fraud on the part of Christ or the Apostles, or both. The theory of Paulus is, that the senses of the observers were deceived in a wonderful degree, so that they mistook common for miraculous events, and that the four Gospels, though the productions of eye and ear-witnesses, are, through the influence of imagination and other causes, of such a character as to require enormous deductions from their obvious meaning, before they can be received as literal and true histories. Strauss, on the other hand, supposing the Gospels to have been written, not by companions of Christ or their contemporaries, but by unknown authors of a later date, proposes a third theory, namely, that all narratives of miracles are mere myths, or legends, gradually formed from the ideas and expectations of the time when they were written. It remains to be seen whether this last theory will meet with any better reception, even from intelligent unbelievers, than the two previous ones. In fact, there are already indications that the views of Strauss are not more satisfactory to English deists than to believers in Divine revelation. So far, therefore, as the opinions of German deistical theologians are concerned, it is metaphysical philosophy against which the charge of undermining the historical foundation of Christianity primarily lies. This is the true culprit that has done the mischief.

"Me, me, (adsum qui feci,) in me convertite ferrum,
 mea fraus omnis."

It is true, that the critics who have been mentioned, in their Lives of Jesus profess to proceed on critical grounds ; but who does not perceive that they who believe a miracle to be impossible or incredible are under a bias or prepossession, which incapacitates them for an impartial critical inquiry into the credibility of a narrative concerning miracles ? Their metaphysical philosophy has already decided the question at issue. I suppose, however, that I need not argue against the absurdity of railing against philosophy, because some of its devotees have denied the possibility or the credibility of miracles, or of a personal God to work them. Common sense seems to have decided that the existence of such opinions was a reason for pursuing true philosophy with greater ardor, rather than for neglecting it ; that if we must

have such men as Spinoza, and Hobbes, and Hume, we should also have such as Cudworth, and Locke, and Stewart.

Alarms for the cause of religion, occasioned by the progress of science, have always proved to be unfounded. The great truths of astronomy, on their first development, were thought to be in conflict with Divine revelation. Suppose that the edict of the Pope in opposition to the opinions of Galileo had prevailed, and that astronomical inquiry had at that time been put down, would religion, any more than science, now be in a better condition? Or is real religion likely to be promoted by the opposition which is now made in some quarters to the science of geology, on account of its apparent conflict with the traditions in the book of Genesis? Or suppose, that, when so much fear for the integrity of the New Testament was excited by the various readings which investigation discovered, critical inquiries had been stopped, and no Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, or Scholz, had arisen to probe the matter to its depths, should we now have greater or less reason to confide in the purity of the text of the Scriptures?

The truth is, that the pursuit of Biblical criticism to its utmost limits is only the application of reason, or of common sense, to a particular kind of subjects, namely, the genuineness of books, the antiquity and authenticity of records, and the meaning which belongs to them. It is only a nicer and more thorough application of principles which every man of sense employs, when he reads a newspaper or converses with a friend. We cannot distrust the legitimate conclusions of our reason on this subject, without distrusting them on every other subject, and thus sinking into the most unlimited skepticism. There is no point, in the exercise of the human faculties, in regard to which we may say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." Conservatism in relation to institutions and forms I can understand and value, but so far as inquiries after truth are concerned, conservatism, if it means any thing, means hypocrisy. How can a true man, in his researches as a scholar, be more a conservative, than to aim to preserve all the truth at which, in the faithful exercise of his faculties, he can arrive? And how can he be less a radical, than to aim to eradicate all the error which falls in his way?

In the formation of one's opinions, I admit the duty of cautious and careful inquiry before adopting for truth that

which runs counter to the opinions of nations and ages. The true critic should be filled with the spirit of humility, ever keeping in mind all the various biases and weaknesses which may lead one to a wrong conclusion, and paying a proper respect to the judgment of other minds. But let him not distrust his reason. He cannot do violence to that without violating his obligations to its Almighty Giver, and without making himself a slave to any who may have the impudence to pretend that their reason is surer than his reason.

In the publication of opinions inconsistent with the prevalent faith of a community, there is a special obligation that one should be sure of the ground on which he stands. Even when one has well considered them, and kept them, perhaps, according to the precept of Horace respecting poetry, to the ninth year, he should still have reference in their publication to the preparation of the minds of others for their reception. He should have regard to time and place and other circumstances in maintaining them. He should not thrust forward in loose declamation before a popular audience what ought first to be subjected to the ordeal of learned criticism. But still the conscientious man will never lose sight of his obligation to make known in some way, and at some time, all the new truth which he feels sure that he has gained. Notwithstanding, therefore, the unexpected results to which many modern critics of learning and talent have arrived, results which present Christianity only as a system of natural religion, without any special sanction from the authority of its teacher, still the only remedy, so far as relates to its historical foundations; is the study and application of the principles of historical and exegetical criticism. As to its principles, we must be sure that they are founded in reason and common sense; and as to their application, we must see that it is made with a thorough comprehension of all the grounds on which an opinion should be formed. This is the only process by which the miraculous foundation of Christianity, as a matter of history, can be maintained. Should it turn out that the conclusions of Strauss are supported by a just application of the true principles of criticism, we must adopt and avow them. We must have churches founded on the principles of natural religion alone, without sanction from a special messenger of God. We need not fear the truth on any subject. The Almighty will know how to maintain order in

the world, and to guide his creatures to the dignity and blessedness for which they were designed, without the aid of human tricks and shams, by whatever antiquity or numbers they may be supported. He is able to draw all men to himself by motives and means of his own ordination. His laws and revelations can need no other sanction than that which he has been pleased to give them.

If, on the other hand, we believe that the conclusions of Strauss and his followers are false, that they are the conclusions of those who come to the study of the life of Jesus with a metaphysical theory, according to which all miracles are impossible or incredible, and of course all accounts of them myths or legends, and who, however great may have been their personal candor, were by this primary bias essentially disqualified for the study of the Gospels on the pure principles of historical and exegetical criticism; if we believe that their opinions are not the natural and necessary, but the forced, results of these principles, in accommodation to the demands of a theory; if we believe that, in general, the miraculous as well as the common facts related in the Gospels rest on a foundation that cannot be shaken, and that what they may contain, having a mythical character, bears no greater proportion to the whole than might reasonably be expected, if the occurrences they relate were generally founded in truth; if we are thus convinced that Christianity is not merely the purest system of natural religion, but one to which is superadded the authority and sanction of God's special messenger, still our belief can have no stronger historical foundation than that which the principles of historical and exegetical criticism afford. Other considerations may establish the religious and moral truths which Jesus taught, as they may those which have been taught by Plato or any other man. Our rational, moral, and religious nature, aided by that holy spirit which is promised to them that seek it, may enable us to discern and appreciate the godlike excellence of the character of Jesus as delineated in the New Testament. But the application of the principles of historical and exegetical criticism to the New Testament can alone establish the facts of his history, and support his personal claims to superhuman authority. It is thus only that the conclusions of Strauss and his followers can be set aside. How, then, are we to have the men who can examine and refute such works as Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, except by encouraging

critical theology, by enriching our public libraries with the means of critical and historical research, and by maintaining professors who shall have the leisure, as well as the ability, for a thorough examination of subjects of this nature ?

From the work of Strauss which now exists in the English language I cannot anticipate unfavorable effects, in the end. It is addressed, as it ought to be, to scholars, and takes no advantage, like the writings of Paine, of any popular prejudice or feeling. The great body of the Church, whose faith is founded, not on historical inquiry, but on traditional education, on the felt adaptation of Christianity to the capacities, the aspirations, the wants, and the weaknesses of their nature, and the observation of its beneficent effects on individuals and nations, will not immediately be affected by it. They will not read the book, and if they hear of its conclusions, they will regard them as sufficient in themselves to show the falseness of the process by which they were gained. Those inquirers who hold a philosophy which includes faith in an intelligent Author of the world, who, having once created it for a benevolent purpose, may for the same benevolent purpose interpose in a miraculous manner for its enlightenment and reformation, will not be in great danger of being moved by the results of the inquiries of pantheistic theologians, bending criticism to their metaphysical theories. But even for this class of inquirers, and for theological students who seek to know the historical foundations on which the Christian faith rests, we do need an answer to a work so learned and so plausible as Strauss's *Life of Jesus*. We need a great work, the object of which shall be, not to render the opinions of Strauss contemptible in the eyes of Christians, but to refute them on philosophical and critical grounds ; to show in detail, either that his principles of criticism and interpretation are false, or that he has made a false application of them. Any thing short of this will answer no good purpose. The old treatises on the evidence of Christianity do not meet the present emergency. They do not fully meet the difficult questions which are presented in the work of Strauss. The nature, possibility, and credibility of miracles, the principles of historical criticism, the rules for deciding on the value of historical documents, the nature of myths and legends, and the rules and modes by which they are to be distinguished from true history, the criteria of true and pretended miracles, and, in fine, the whole internal evi-

dence of the Gospel history, are subjects which need to be investigated anew, and presented in a new light. No answer to Strauss, as good as could be wished, has as yet appeared even in Germany, where no less than four editions of his work have been issued. The best work called forth by its publication is probably Neander's "Life of Jesus," of which a translation has been promised at Edinburgh. But we need something better than a translation of the work of Neander. We have better writers and thinkers among us than the distinguished historian of the Church, in whom liberality of spirit and extent of research are more apparent than vigor of intellect or clearness of views. All that is wanted is learning, time, and talent devoted to the subject, in order to have a better work for our community than any foreigner can produce. A critical Life of Jesus, or a critical Commentary on the Gospels, having in view the questions raised by Strauss, though not necessarily discussing them in a controversial way, is at present the great desideratum in our theology. We want no work on the subject which is not the product of learning, of talent, and of time. Let those who condemn critical studies as worthless tell us, if they can, how such a work is to be produced. Let them tell us, too, how long it is desirable that the most elaborate exposition of the life of the Founder of Christianity should be the production of one who denies the divinity of his mission.*

There can be no real antagonism between reason and faith. It is not by a timid and arbitrary retreat to an old church or an old system, or by clinging with an intense effort of the will to present views, or by the mere exercise of the Christian spirit and the influence of good living, as some, pushing a correct principle to an extreme, have seemed of late to maintain, but by constant and persevering progress in rational inquiry, that a genuine and vigorous Christian faith can arise from the present chaos of unsettled opinions in the Christian world. Long enough, too, have Christians tried to arrive at a visible unity by Councils and Conventions, arbitrarily adopting formulas of faith. The only means for gaining the consummation, so devoutly to be wished, when

* A learned friend, in whose judgment I have great confidence, has expressed to me the opinion, that I have overrated the talent of Strauss and the importance of his writings. If this be the case, I hope the greater weight will be allowed to what I have said in opposition to his views.

"all shall be one," is a more general and vigorous application of reason to religious subjects, united with a larger measure of the Christian spirit, and a more comprehensive and constant charity.

But I feel that I am beginning to exceed the proper limits of a discourse. It is impossible, however, to close, without recalling the image of him who, at our last anniversary, with his feeble voice, too surely foreboding the loss which we now deplore, but with his usual affluence of thought and beauty of language, illustrated the subject of the influence of character compared with that of mere official dignity or sanctity. Having detained you so long, I cannot undertake to delineate the character of Dr. Peabody. For our own admonition and excitement, I will remind you of only one characteristic of his ministerial course. He was a signal example of a clergyman, who, while he brought to his own pulpit, from which he was seldom absent, a very uncommon number of original and well-written discourses, and was faithful to the private calls of ministerial duty, and adorned the Christian name by his pure and gentle spirit, forgot not the claims of literature, and even of science, upon his active and fertile mind. Who can doubt that his influence as a Christian teacher, even among his own people, was increased by the various and long-continued contributions to our periodical literature which came from his pen? Alas, how ill can we afford to lose so bright an ornament to our profession! Let us learn from him, that our influence as clergymen should be bounded by no parish lines, but only by our ability and our opportunity; and be reminded how much may be accomplished by the quiet and assiduous employment of our talents and our time in the work which God has given us to do.

ART. III. — EVELYN'S LIFE OF MRS. GODOLPHIN.*

A LITTLE more than twenty years since, a posthumous work by John Milton was first published, and was shortly after

* *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.* By JOHN EVELYN of Wootton Esq. Now first published and edited by SAMUEL Lord Bishop of OXFORD Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. xvi. and 151.

noticed at some length in this journal. This little volume, by a contemporary of Milton and the patron of Jeremy Taylor, is also now printed for the first time. Thus are we the first to read and pass judgment upon two works, which, though known to exist, were alike inaccessible to our fathers. One quietly slumbered amidst the forgotten rubbish of the State-Paper Office, and was at length generally supposed to be lost; the other almost as quietly rested among the Evelyn manuscripts. Like Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, the volume before us acquires an interest from the circumstances under which it is published, that it would not otherwise possess. For, in truth, it has little historical value, and throws no new light upon that important period in which Mrs. Godolphin lived. Its great charm lies in its delineation of a virtuous life passed amidst the moral degradation and corruption of the most licentious reign that has ever stained the annals of England. There is always an interest about such a life, even when unmarked by great intellectual power or political importance; and when virtue becomes as rare a sight as it was during the reign of Charles the Second, we may well bestow some degree of admiration upon it. But besides the general interest which we feel in the book on this account, we are led to examine it more carefully from a conviction that Mrs. Godolphin was little like most women. Different and apparently discordant elements seem to have been blended in her character. These circumstances have caused the publication of this volume to be looked for with a good deal of interest. We think there has been, however, a general feeling of disappointment, similar to that which was felt on the publication of Milton's book.

Before we proceed to a brief notice of Mrs. Godolphin's life and character, we have a word to say on the manner in which the editor has performed the duty assigned him. The "Life" was not written until several years after her death, when Evelyn was more than sixty years of age, and never received the benefit of his final corrections. After his death, which happened in 1705, the title was found upon a list of "Things I would write out faire and reform if I had the leisure." The manuscript has remained in his family until very recently, when it was confided to the present editor for publication by the Archbishop of York, a descendant of Mr. Evelyn. The editor has prefixed a very objectionable Introduction, and added a number of valuable notes, for

which he informs us he is indebted "to the accurate and well-furnished pen" of Mr. Holmes of the British Museum. These notes are confined, with a few exceptions, to biographical notices of the various persons mentioned in the text, and are deserving of a degree of commendation which we cannot bestow on those parts that seem to have been under the particular supervision of the editor himself. He has not given that careful attention to the correction of the text which it was incumbent upon him to bestow, in view of these facts respecting the unfinished state of the manuscript. His labors seem to have been confined to correcting the spelling in a few instances, and inserting a few words which were needed to complete the sense. There are, however, several mistakes of the biographer, in regard to facts of some importance, of which no notice whatever is taken. For example, on page 27, Mr. Evelyn says : — " Wee will now then looke vpon her as att Whitehall, whither she came from St. James to waite vpon her Majestye, after the death of the Dutchess, when she was not above sixteene." And a few pages before (p. 6) we are told : — " Thus pass'd she her tyme in that Court till the Dutchess dyed, dureing whose Sickness, accompanied (as it was) with many vncomfortable circumstances, she waited and attended with an exterordinary sedulity, and as she sometymes told me, when few of the rest were able to endure the fatigue." These statements are alike irreconcilable with each other and with well-known facts ; but the explanation is quite simple. Evelyn had no personal knowledge of these facts, for his acquaintance with Mrs. Godolphin did not begin until some time after, and his memory was probably confused when he wrote the account, after many years had elapsed. The principal mistake, as we conceive, lies in confounding Mrs. Godolphin with her sister, Henrietta Maria Blagge, who was afterwards married to Sir Thomas Yarborough. Margaret was transferred to the Queen's service some years before the death of the Duchess of York ; for in 1669 we find only one " Mrs. Blagge " among the maids of honor to the Duchess. This was either Mary Blagge, a sister of whom little is known, or Henrietta Maria, who figures in Count Grammont's Memoirs, and who was certainly quite the reverse of Margaret. If Mrs. Godolphin attended upon the Duchess of York, as stated by Evelyn, she is deserving of the more praise, as she was evidently not then in the service of the Duchess. Anne Hyde, Duchess of York,

was a Catholic, and died in the spring of 1671, when Mrs. Godolphin was in her nineteenth year. There are some other errors of a similar character ; but we pass to the subject of our notice.

Margaret Blagge was the daughter of a respectable family, which was ardently devoted to the cause of the Stuarts during the whole of the Revolution. She was born at a time when that cause seemed to be hopelessly lost, a few months before Cromwell marched down to the House of Commons with his "files of musketeers" to destroy the liberties of his country, and Whitelocke presented the Rev. Hugh Peters's "huge dogge" to Queen Christina of Sweden, then at the height of her power, but soon to withdraw to more congenial scenes in Rome. Before she had attained her eighth year, things had changed vastly. Cromwell was dead, and his son Richard had vainly endeavoured to follow in his father's career ; the Commonwealth had been crushed by the trimmers, under the guidance of Monk and Anthony Ashley Cooper, and the Stuarts had been recalled. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1660, Charles the Second entered London, amidst general rejoicings. "This was also his birth-day," says Mr. Evelyn in his Diary, "and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy ; the ways strewn with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine ; the mayor, aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners ; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet ; the windows and balconies all set with ladies ; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night." The chronicler adds : — "I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God." As Margaret saw this pompous procession pass, she doubtless smiled with childish admiration and delight ; but she was soon to become accustomed to such scenes. She did not, however, live to see the end ; twenty-five years later, Evelyn himself was to record the end of that monarch for whose restoration he had blessed God. In the winter of 1685, he wrote : — "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of,

the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, etc., a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 *l.* in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections in astonishment. Six days after all was in the dust !” It was in a reign whose beginning and close were thus marked that Mrs. Godolphin lived, and at the court of such a monarch that she passed seven years of her life.

In 1665, when the great plague depopulated London, she accompanied her mother on a visit to her father's relations in Suffolk ; and upon her return she entered the service of the Duchess of York, and, as we have before stated, was subsequently attached to the Queen's person. The following extracts from her Diary, written when she was still very young, will show how worthily she strove to live in the midst of the vices of the most profligate of courts.

“ I must, till Lent, rise att halfe an houre after eight a clock ; whilst putting on morning cloathes, say the prayer for Death and the Te Deum : then presently to my prayers, and soe either dress my selfe or goe to Church prayers. In dressing, I must consider how little it signifyes to the saveing of my soule, and how foolish 'tis to be angry about a thing so unnecessary. Consider what our Saviour suffered. — O Lord, assist me.

“ When I goe into the withdrawing roome, lett me consider what my calling is : to entertaine the Ladys, not to talke foolishly to Men, more especially the King ; lett me consider, if a Traytor be hatefull, she that betrayes the soule of one is much worse ; — the danger, the sin of it. Then without pretending to witt, how quiet and pleasant a thing it is to be silent, or if I doe speake, that it be to the Glory of God. — Lord, assist me.

“ Att Church lett me mind in what place I am ; what about to ask, even the salvation of my soule ; to whome I speak, — to the God that made me, redeemed and sanctified me, and can yett cutt me off when he pleases. — O Lord, assist me.” — p. 10.

“ Be sure still to read that for the drawing roome in the privy chamber, or presence, or other place before prayers, and soe againe into the drawing room for an hour or soe ; and then slipp to my chamber and divert myself in reading some pretty booke, because the Queene does not require my waiteing ; after this to supper, which must not be much if I have dynd well ; and att neither meale to eate above two dishes, because temperance is

best both for soule and body ; then goe upp to the Queen, having before read, and well thought of what you have written. Amen.

“Sett not up above halfe an hour after eleaven att most; and as you undress, repeate that prayer againe; butt before, consider that you are perhappes goeing to sleepe your last; being in bedd repeate your hymne softly, ere you turne to sleepe.” — p. 11.

“In the morning, wakeing, use a short devotion and then as soone as ever you awake, rise immediately to praise him. The Lord assist me.” — p. 12.

“I have vowed, if it be possible, not to sett upp past ten o'clock; therefore, before you engage in company, goe downe and read this, and be as much alone as you can; and when you are abroad talke to men as little as may be: carry your prayer booke in your pockett, or any thing that may decently keepe you from converseing with men.” — pp. 13, 14.

It should be borne in mind that these rules of her daily life were written at least four years after that noticeable walk which Mr. Pepys took with his wife in Whitehall garden in the spring of 1662. The morals of the court had in no wise improved since that worthy gentleman recorded what he saw and heard during his walk. “There was but little in those days to do any body good,” says a sturdy thinker in our own time; and it was well that Mrs. Godolphin cherished such rules to govern her life in the midst of a court where she was, of necessity, brought into frequent communication with such men as Rochester and Buckingham, — to say nothing of the royal brothers, — and such women as Castlemaine, Shrewsbury, and Miss Stewart. It was by her constant habit of prayer, joined with a deep conviction of the utter worthlessness of the courtiers, that she was enabled to preserve the purity and integrity of her character in those days of the grossest immorality. In this habit of prayer she persevered from her childhood until her death.

At length, but some time after Sir John Coventry's bold speech in Parliament, she became disgusted with the follies and vices of the court, and sought to withdraw to scenes better suited to her tastes. Mr. Evelyn relates that

“She had frequently told me, that Seaven yeares was enough and too much, to trifle any longer there: and, accordingly, one day that I least dream't of it, she came expressly to my lodging

and acquainted me with her Intention to goe [and] live att Berkeley House, and that if she did alter her condition by Marriage, it should be when she was perfectly free, and had essayed how her detachment from Royall servitude would comport with her before she determin'd concerning another change. I happen'd to be with her in the Queens withdrawing roome, when a day or two after, finding her oppertunity, and that there was less company, she begg'd leave of their Majestyes to retire ; never shall I forgett the humble and becomeing address she made, nor the Joy that discover'd its selfe in this Angells countenance, above any thing I had ever observed of transport in her, when she had obtained her suite ; for, I must tell you, Madam, she had made some attempts before without success, which gave her much anxietie. Their Majesties were both vnwilling to part with such a Jewell." — p. 31.

She remained in the society of her friends at Berkeley House and at Twickenham Park, the country-seat of Lord Berkeley, for a considerable length of time. In December, 1674, she made her last appearance at court, and sustained the part of Diana in "Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph," which was acted before the court in that month. Among the other principal performers were Lady Henrietta Wentworth, best known from her connection with the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, Miss Jennings, afterwards married to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and the two daughters of the Duke of York, both of whom subsequently sat on the throne of England. She seems to have been quite unwilling to take a part in the performance, and to have been in great distress of mind during the whole time, so indisposed was she to return to those scenes of pompous vice.

In the following spring she was privately married to Sidney Godolphin, who was afterwards Lord High Treasurer under Queen Anne, after a reciprocal attachment which had lasted unimpaired for nine years. The marriage was not acknowledged until about a year after, upon her return from France, whither she accompanied Lady Berkeley, when that lady's husband was appointed ambassador to the court of Louis the Fourteenth. Mr. Godolphin remained in England. Mrs. Godolphin had been in France once before, previously to the Restoration, "though I remember not on what occasion," says Mr. Evelyn.* During this visit, she seems to have remained in great seclusion. Mr. Evelyn says : —

* This admission is worthy of notice, as it confirms a remark we have made on a previous page.

“And tho’ the Report of such a Beauty and Witt had soe forerun her arrivall, by some who had known her in the Circle att Court, that the French King was desirous to see her in that att Saint Germans ; yett she soe order’d matters as to avoid all occasions of goeing thither, and came back to England without giving that great Monarch the satisfaction of one Glaunce, or her selfe of the Splendor or Vanity of his Court ; which is so singular a Note in her sex, and of one naturally soe curious and observeing, that I cannot pass it over without a just remarke, especially being a Lady soe infinitely compleasant, and of a nature soe obligeing, Mistress alsoe of the French Tongue to such perfection, as rendered her capable of entertaining Persons of the highest quality, nor was this reservdness out of humour or singularity.” — p. 64.

The accuracy of Mr. Evelyn’s last remark admits of some doubt, as we may show before we conclude this article. While in Paris, she wrote the following letter to Mr. Evelyn, whose son had been sent to France under her charge.

“My Friend, I promised you an Account of our Journey hither ; there was nothing in it of exterordnary, no ill accident, nothing like Pintos Travells. Since I came to Paris, I have hardly been out of doores to visit any body, butt there has been a Preist to visitt me ; butt without Vanity I think I said as much for my Opinion as he did for his. I am now reading Mounsieur Clauds Defence de la Reformation, and like it most exceedingly ; soe as you need have noe fear of me on that side. God knows, the more one sees of their Church, the more one finds to dislike in itt ; I did not imagine the tenth part of the Superstition I find in it, yett still could approve of their Orders. Their Nunneryes seem to be holy Institutions, if they are abused ’tis not their fault : what is not perverted ? Marriage itt selfe is become a snare, and People seem to dispose of their Children young, lest the remedy increase the disease : butt when I have commended that baile of theirs, I have said for them, I think, all that reasonably can be said. One thing I must tell you, Friend, People can have the Spleens here in Paris, lett them say what they will of the Aire ; butt if Arithmetick will cure itt, I am goeing with my Charge, your Son, to be a very hard Student, and wee intend to be very wise.” — p. 65.

She did not long remain where she found so little that interested her, and returned to England. Her marriage was soon after acknowledged, and she lived happily with her husband in the quiet practice of the Christian virtues until her

death, which happened a little more than two years after. About the time that the citizens of London were beginning to talk of the pretended discovery of the Popish Plot, — on the ninth of September, 1678, — this excellent woman died, at the early age of twenty-six, leaving one son, Francis Godolphin, who married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. Mrs. Godolphin was born at the period of England's highest glory ; she died at the period of England's deepest shame ; but through all those changes she preserved a character of remarkable purity. Thus far we have spoken only of her virtues ; it is proper now to speak of her defects, and to endeavour to discover their causes, that others may draw a profitable lesson from her life.

Owing to the very imperfect manner in which both Mr. Evelyn and his editor have performed their duties, it is exceedingly difficult to form a clear idea of her character in all its parts. We believe, however, that a careful examination of the volume before us will enable us to form a pretty correct judgment of the principal features of her moral and intellectual constitution. Mr. Evelyn thus sums up his view of her character : —

“ Never was there a more unspotted virgin, a more loyall wife, a more sincere friend, a more consummate Christian ; add to this, a florid youth, an exquisite and naturall beauty, and gracefullness the most becomeing. Nor was she to be disguised : there was nothing more quick and peircing than her apprehension, nothing more faithfull than her memory, more solid and mature than her Judgment, insomuch as I have heard her husband affirm to me (whose discernment all that have the honour to know him will allow to be extraordinary) that even in the greatest difficultyes and occasions, he has both asked and preferred her advice with continuall success, and with those solid parts she had all the advantages of a most sparkling witt, a naturall Eloquence, a gentle and agreeable tone of voice, and a charming accent when she spake, whilst the Charmes of her countenance were made up of the greatest Innocence, modesty, and goodness Imaginable, agreeable to the Composure of her thoughts, and the union of a thousand perfections : add to all this, she was Just, Invincible, secrett, ingeniously sinceere, faithfull in her promises, and to a Miracle, temperate, and mistress of her passions and resolutions, and soe well had she imployed her spann of tyme, that as oft as I consider how much she knew, and writt, and did, I am plainly astonished, and blush even for my selfe. O how delightfull entertaining was this Lady, how grave her discourse, how unlike the con-

versation of her sex, when she was the most facetious, it would allways end in a chearfull composedness the most becomeing in the world, for she was the tenderest Creature living of taking advantage of anothers Imperfections ; nothing could be more humble and full of Compassion, nothing more disposed to all offices of kindness. In a word, what perfections were scatered amongst others of her sex, seem'd here to be united, and she went every day improveing, shineing brighter, and ascending still in vertue." — pp. 121, 122.

This is written in the partial language of warm friendship, and is hardly warranted by strict truth. Mrs. Godolphin naturally possessed a lively and amiable disposition, a gentle and confiding nature, a generous heart, and a fund of wit and genial humor ; but she afterwards became of a more reserved and somewhat sombre character, she lost her confidence in those whom she loved, and, in general, acquired a more ascetic tone. It was shown in our July number that the defects in Dr. Payson's character grew out of the ungenial system of theology which he advocated ; in precisely the same manner, as we believe, is this change in Mrs. Godolphin to be ascribed to the ungenial system in which she was educated. Dr. Payson was a strict Calvinist of the old school ; Mrs. Godolphin was a rigid Episcopalian, fashioned a good deal after the pattern of Archbishop Laud and the High Churchmen of those days, — but with this difference, that she entertained a cordial dislike of the Roman Catholic religion, which Laud did not. This system dimmed the natural graces of her character, but could not wholly obscure them. It made her far less happy than she would otherwise have been. It deprived her of many innocent joys, and threw over her whole life that form of despondency which too often embitters the domestic life of estimable persons. For a long time it prevented her from marrying one whom she dearly loved, and who she knew was every way worthy of her, and made her grieve over imaginary sins. Instead of that calm, trusting, submissive faith, which is best suited to the growth of religious principles in the soul, it produced a feverish and unnatural state of excitement. It gave to many of her acts a tinge of singularity, and of monkish austerity. It probably caused her early death, by her rigorous observance of the Church fasts ; and through life it frequently made her miserable and unhappy. "Seldome or rarely," says Mr. Evelyn,

"came I to waite on her, (if she were not in company) but I found her in her little oratorie, and *some tymes all in feares,*" etc.* Writing to Mr. Evelyn, she gives utterance to these words, which seem to us to indicate the struggle going on in her heart between her gentle affections and her morbid fear of some imaginary sin : — "*The Lord help me, dear freind, I know not what to determine* ; sometymes I think one thing, sometymes another ; one day I fancy noe life soe pure as the vnmarryed, another day I think it less exemplarye, and that the marryed life has more oppertunity of exerciseing Charity ; and then againe that 'tis full of solicitude and worldyness, *soe as what I shall doe, I know not.*" † Indeed, nearly all her letters, and her whole course of life for three or four years previous to her marriage, and just before her last sickness, show the existence of this nervous state of mind.

A tendency to gloom, then, as we conceive, growing out of a harsh, unyielding creed and a formal religion, was the chief defect in her character, and the source of nearly all her other defects. This explains many things in her life for which it would otherwise be difficult to account. Yet the editor boasts that "she was a true daughter of the Church of England. Puritanism did not contract her soul into moroseness ; nor did she go to Rome to learn the habits of piety." ‡ We shall not stop to argue this point. It is sufficient for us to allude to Mrs. Hutchinson for a vindication of Puritanism from the charge implied in the editor's sneer, — that it contracted the soul into moroseness. So great is our admiration of that noble woman, that we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without bestowing upon her that meed of praise which she so richly deserves. Her natural character seems to have been much like Mrs. Godolphin's. She, too, possessed a generous heart, great beauty, a keen wit, and all worthy affections. She was fond of reading, and early filled her mind with priceless treasures. "It pleased God," says she, "that, through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught." §

* p. 25.

† p. 37.

‡ Introduction, p. xv.

§ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson (5th edition), p. 18.

Her faith was founded on the everlasting truths contained in the Bible, and not on a religion of forms and ceremonies. She lived in scenes equally trying as those through which Mrs. Godolphin passed, but never did despondency sadden her heart with its chilling influence, — not even when her husband was languishing and dying in a distant prison, and her tender cares could not soothe his last hour. When she had shed her last tear over his lifeless body, she sat down and wrote those admirable Memoirs for the use of her children, that they might cherish and imitate their father's virtues. Mrs. Hutchinson's faith exalted her in the hour of trial; Mrs. Godolphin's faith degraded her when trouble or doubt came. But though we cannot bestow on Margaret Godolphin that high degree of admiration which the noble life, Christian character, and rare intellect of Lucy Hutchinson claim, still we find in a careful survey of her life much to honor and admire. May those who cannot emulate the proud preëminence of Mrs. Hutchinson at least strive to keep themselves, like Mrs. Godolphin, "unspotted from the world."

C. C. S.

ART. IV. — ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.*

THE subject of capital punishment is likely to be thoroughly discussed. Throughout our own country especially,

* 1. *Report in Favor of the Abolition of the Punishment of Death by Law, made to the Legislature of the State of New York, April 14, 1841.* By JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN. New York. 1841. 8vo. pp. 168.

2. *An Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment, with special Reference to the Penalty of Death.* By TAYLER LEWIS, ESQ. *And a Defence of Capital Punishment.* By REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1847. 12mo. pp. 365.

3. *Essays on the Punishment of Death.* By CHARLES SPEAR. Eleventh Edition. Boston. 1845. 12mo. pp. 237.

4. *Thoughts on the Death-Penalty.* By CHARLES C. BURLEIGH. Second Edition. Philadelphia. 1847. 12mo. pp. 144.

5. *Dissertation on Capital Punishment.* By S. S. SCHMÜCKER, D. D. Third Edition. Philadelphia. 1845. 8vo. pp. 31.

6. *Argument of Benjamin F. Porter, in Support of a Bill, introduced by him, in the House of Representatives of Alabama, to abrogate the Punishment of Death.* Tuscaloosa. 1846. 8vo. pp. 20.

7. *Argument of Edward Livingston against Capital Punishment. Published by the New York State Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 24.

tracts, essays, sermons, reviews, legislative reports, are appearing, which show that the public mind is becoming aroused on a subject upon which hardly a word was said twenty years ago. Some of these publications, on both sides, have reached four or more editions, indicating apparently that action is about to be taken, after a more or less thorough examination of the proposed reform. One of our States, Michigan, has already swept the death-penalty from her statute-book, and her recent legislature has confirmed the act of the previous one, abolishing the penalty entirely. A new State like this we should hardly have expected would take the lead in mitigating the criminal code; and we cannot but feel that the change is made under far more doubtful circumstances than exist in either New York or Pennsylvania, where the abolition has been eagerly looked for by its friends.

It is because we believe the time has fully come when the penitentiary must be substituted for the gallows, because the question is frequently reduced to this, "Shall there be a modified punishment or no punishment at all?" because (as we expect to show) the present law fails to secure the respect of the community, because some juries will sooner break their oaths than send a fellow-being to the gallows upon the usual circumstantial evidence, because such is the growing sense of the severity of this penalty that it suggests to able counsel the means of evading its infliction and turning loose on society desperate criminals, that we desire to examine the subject, first in regard to the Scriptural argument, and, secondly, as to the necessity, justice, and certainty of capital punishments.

Its defenders, whether from the pulpit or the press, rely mainly upon the support of the Scriptures. The widely circulated treatise by Dr. Schmücker, and the celebrated essays by Messrs. Lewis and Cheever, spend their chief strength upon the Bible argument. In this respect, the proposed reform has fared very much like the Antislavery and Peace movements, which have preceded and prepared the way for it.

Now it is not a little remarkable that the single passage

8. *Third Annual Address before the New York State Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* [By Hon. J. H. Titus.] February, 1847.

9. *Report of Select Committee on the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* State of New York. In Assembly, March 5, 1847. 8vo. pp. 121.

from Genesis, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," assumed by Dr. Cheever and all his party in this discussion to be a universal, everlasting law, most convenient for citation because of its comprehensive brevity, is never cited as a law, never appealed to, and never hinted at, in any case of murder through the whole Jewish history. Blood is repeatedly avenged by blood, but not because of this supposed edict, not with any avowed reference to any such command from Jehovah. The murderer receives what he had given, because such were the exigencies of a rude state of society and an imperfect civilization, such was the prompting of passions which no one thought of restraining, which it was even considered virtuous to gratify. Either this justice, or none, was to be exacted. And family pride, the fear of suffering high-handed outrage to pass with that impunity which tempts to crime, the absence of any other mode of restraining the hand of violence, the tie of kindred, which was thought to bind one to avenge a friend's wrongs, all demanded life for life.

So far was Genesis ix. 6 from being regarded as absolute authority (to say nothing of the cities of refuge provided by Moses for the manslayer), that very frequently the murderer escapes entirely, and no excuse is attempted for the violation of an "inviolable law" of God. Previously to this declaration, Cain and Lamech committed murders; yet, instead of Jehovah's setting the example to human governments of taking life for life, Cain is expressly defended by him, and Lamech comforts his wives with the hope that he shall share the same Divine protection from any revenge which threatened the acknowledged homicide. And so he did, having the long life-lease of seven hundred and seventy-seven years. Again, under the same covenant, and almost immediately upon the publication of this supposed edict, Simeon and Levi commit a deliberate massacre, aggravated by perjury and sacrilege. They induce the inhabitants of Shechem to receive the initiatory rite of circumcision, and, while disabled from defence by an act of religion, commenced in good faith, the whole people are swept off at one stroke. Where was this "universal law" then? Was pious Jacob ignorant of its meaning? or had he less readiness than Abraham to sacrifice his children to the will of Jehovah? A severe reproof satisfied the patriarch's sense of justice. His dying curse remembered their frightful

crime ; but neither Jehovah nor his devoted servant, we had almost said his vicegerent, attempted any thing more. The law, if a law, was plainly not in force in its own day.

After this period, no mention of "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," appears in the course of Scripture, while the violation of the principle of blood for blood is of frequent occurrence. Neither does human life appear to have been especially secure among the Jews, nor the law of retaliation to have been universally established. David slew the Amalekite directly and Uriah indirectly, Absalom murdered Amnon, Abimelech murdered seventy brethren, Doeg butchered eighty-five priests ; and though most of these murders were deliberate, committed in cold blood, their authors lived on, and some of them at least enjoyed the fruit of their crimes. So much for the commentary of Scripture upon Scripture. In a period of which but few incidents remain on record, a period when by a later covenant than that given to Noah the penalty of death was attached to murder, every form of wanton, cold-blooded human butchery takes place, and murderers escape that penalty beneath the immediate jurisdiction of Jehovah.

But, passing from this unintentional and decisive testimony of Jewish kings and prophets, as to the observance of the injunction, let us examine the passage itself, which Dr. Cheever pronounces "the citadel of our argument, commanding and sweeping the whole subject."

It is not a little unfortunate for the advocates of capital punishment, that its chief defence has to be sought in a dispensation not our own, not even directly preparatory to our own, but reaching back into the dim starlight of the very rudest civilization, — among commands (if commands they are) of a local and temporary kind, as part and parcel of a law condemning the use of the blood of animals as food, and dooming the brute which had even accidentally taken the life of man to be slain. If revelation was intended to be progressive, if the different dispensations afford unequivocal signs of advance one upon another, if human life has been every day these four thousand years rising in sanctity, it will be hard to arrest the humanity of the nineteenth century of Christianity by a single clause in the covenant given to Noah. One line from the Sermon on the Mount, "I say unto you, resist not," that is, repay not, "evil," will be felt to be of more worth than all this obsolete dispensation.

But the whole force of the passage rests upon the use of the word "shall." The advocates of the death-penalty insist upon substituting "must," as if the true and only reading was, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man *must* his blood be shed." Letting alone various interpretations made by scholars of all denominations, long before this discussion commenced, which relieve it entirely of its supposed mandatory character, we have abundant Scriptural authority for adhering to the simplest sense of the passage, as merely a prediction, like the saying of Cain, "Whoso findeth me *shall* slay me." "Bloody and deceitful men *shall* not live out half their days." "Every living thing that moveth *shall* be meat for you." "Whoso diggeth a pit *shall* fall therein." These passages, and a multitude of others, show the usage of the Old Testament in regard to expressions precisely similar. They prove that the declaration has no necessary weight beyond a prediction; that it is properly and fairly a prediction concerning the usual course of events in the treatment of the most terrible of crimes.

Commentators are by no means agreed as to the force of the passage. Professor Upham pronounces it the indefinite form of the Hebrew future; Professor Turner, a distinguished Hebrew scholar of the Episcopalian Church, says it may be permissive, but cannot be obligatory; and Professor Stuart declares it to be the most passive form which the language permits.* The older annotators generally repeat the common view of the passage without any remarks. Their attention had not been called to any reasons for a different opinion; their court gave its judgment upon the hasty hearing of a single side: were they able to review their decisions, a large number would no doubt accord with the advanced humanity of our day. Le Clerc, however, understood the passage as we understand it, as a prediction of what would generally occur. Pascal quotes the Vulgate, "Whoso sheddeth human blood, his blood will be shed," not saying by whom; and adds, that this general prohibition

* A very learned defence of capital punishment, by Professor Goodwin, of Bowdoin College, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for May last, admits that "the English translation, in this particular at least, furnishes just as good a basis on which to construct the meaning of the text as the original does." The particular is that which we are now considering. "The original language has no other form for either [the future or the imperative] and may therefore be understood here in either sense; and so may the English by which our translators have rendered it." — *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 319, 320.

takes away from man all authority over the life of man. Calvin also objects to the rendering "*by man*" (which is certainly not the necessary force of the Hebrew particle), and Olivet translates it "*through man*," giving it also a future sense.

A favorite argument with the advocates of the present punishment is, that, "while the reason of a law stands, the law must stand." The converse of this must be equally true, and when the reason ceases for any enactment, it should be repealed. Now three distinct reasons existed for capital punishment in ancient time, which are just as much reasons against that particular punishment now.

First, under the patriarchal and Jewish dispensations, Jehovah himself being the judge, the innocent could not be punished by mistake for the guilty. In every case of doubt and difficulty, the rulers of Israel sought and received Divine direction, sometimes by the Urim and Thummim, sometimes by the mysterious voice, sometimes through prophets and special messengers, sometimes by the supernatural punishment of the guilty; so that it was hardly possible for any mistake to be made. The chief reason which moved Lafayette to say he must protest against the penalty of death, because its administrators were so fallible, was not then in existence. The penalty could be affixed only where it was due. The decision rested, not upon an often deceptive combination of circumstances, but upon Him that readeth the heart and knoweth all things. With us, on the other hand, no one would believe, who had not studied the matter, how frequently mistakes have been committed, and the innocent sacrificed for the guilty. A parliamentary return, some time ago in England, showed, that, for many years, the average of the innocent executed for supposed guilt, whose sentence was reversed when it was too late, was one in every three years. But what numbers must have perished, protesting their innocence to the last breath, referring their misjudged cause to the only infallible tribunal, but having no friend powerful, wealthy, or zealous enough to care to do their memories justice! As the executed are commonly outcasts, bearing in their own body the only interested witness of their guiltlessness, thousands of such cases may astonish us in another world by an entire reversal of the sentence passed in this. Smollett's History relates one instance in which "the real criminals assisted at the execution of the innocent man, heard

his appeal to Heaven from the scaffold, and embraced him in the character of friends as he stood on the brink of eternity." In only one year, in France, seven cases occurred, in which persons condemned by the inferior courts were found innocent by the superior. Dymond, in his "Essays on the Principles of Morality," mentions six as having been hanged at one assize, and afterwards found to be innocent. O'Connell, in a speech at Exeter Hall, reported three such cases as occurring in a short space of time in his own practice.

And, what is the worst of all, such mistakes are inevitable from the circumstantial evidence on which juries decide, and the unphilosophical views regarding insanity which still becloud all human tribunals of justice. Convictions are generally obtained through a combination of suspicious events, all fastening upon the accused as the guilty; and yet those appearances may be wholly deceptive, may be arranged by the real criminal to screen himself. O'Sullivan shows, in his masterly Report, how all such signs of guilt may fail entirely of proving it. We give the passage in an abridged form.

"There have been cases in which two old enemies have been seen fighting in a field, one found dead, killed by a pitchfork belonging to the other, and which that other had been carrying, and yet the real murderer has been afterward found on the jury that tried him. An innkeeper has been charged with the murder of a traveller, — one servant deposing to having seen his master on the stranger's bed, strangling and robbing him, — another swearing that he saw his master bury the gold in a particular spot, where the money was found, and where the master confessed he hid it: he was hung, of course, though innocent. Violent language has been heard between a father and a daughter, — the words "barbarity," "cruelty," "death," have been frequently heard from the latter, — the former goes out, locking the door behind him, — groans are overheard, — the room is opened, and the daughter is found dying, and her gestures intimate that her father is the cause; he is executed, and before the year has passed, she is proved to have committed suicide." — p. 119.

Courts of law still fail of taking a just view of insanity in its connection with crime; juries are very unwilling to listen to evidence tending to an acquittal on this ground; and great numbers have, no doubt, perished on the scaffold for no other crime than a diseased mind. Drs. Ray, Brigham, and Woodward have been unwearied in pressing upon

public attention the necessity of an entire reform in the criminal law regarding insanity. Dr. Brigham remarks in a letter recently published : —

“To my mind there is no stronger argument in favor of abolishing capital punishments than the impossibility of deciding whether some homicides are insane or not. There is no sure criterion of insanity ; no sure test of its existence, by which it may be certainly recognized. Bellingham, who was executed in London for killing Mr. Percival, was undoubtedly insane ; and numerous other cases in that country and on the Continent of Europe I could give you, if necessary, where persons have been executed for crimes committed under the sole influence of insanity. There are instances enough of the like kind in this country : Goss, in Connecticut, Cook, at Schenectady, Prescott, in New Hampshire, Baker, in Kentucky, occur to my memory ; besides Cornell, condemned to be hung, but [who] had his sentence commuted by Governor Bouck to imprisonment for life at Auburn, where he now is an insane man ; and Wilcox of Schenectady, likewise condemned to be hung, but [who] had his sentence commuted by Governor Wright, on the ground of insanity, and is now insane in Clinton prison.”

The Law Reporter for May closes an article, attributed to Dr. Ray, upon the “Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases,” by stating that “the law is now as far from being settled as ever.” The doctrine now practically established was laid down by Coke and Hale at a time when insanity was not understood, and had hardly begun to be investigated. It was, that there must be a total privation of memory and understanding to protect a man from criminal responsibility. Mr. Justice Tracy, in 1783, laid it down as law, that the insane man “is totally deprived of his understanding and his memory, and doth not know what he is doing more than an infant, a brute, or a wild beast ; such a one is never the object of punishment.” Such an insane person, Dr. Bell well remarks, was never, probably, brought before a court, and never will be. Sir Vicary Gibbs, in 1810, laid down the principle of the English law thus : — “I say this upon the authority of the first sages in this country, and upon the authority of the established law in all times, which law has never been questioned, that, although a man be incapable of conducting his own affairs, he may still be answerable for criminal acts, if he possess a mind capable of distinguishing right from wrong.” And Lord Mansfield indorses this au-

thoritative declaration. Now this very test has been applied at the principal asylums throughout the country, especially at Utica, and the result has been, that not over ten per cent. of the whole number were entirely unable to distinguish right from wrong, and therefore exempt from legal responsibility.

When, in 1843, McNaughten murdered Sir Robert Peel's secretary, under the delusion, not that Mr. Drummond was about to injure him, but that a crew of enemies were pursuing him everywhere, the House of Lords proposed to the law-judges of England certain questions upon this very subject. The decision of the judges was worthless. It was vitiated by the error of supposing that the whole conduct of a deranged man is necessarily controlled by his delusion, — that there is a perfect method in madness. The fact is quite otherwise. There are instances of many an insane person "in the ordinary transactions of life conducting himself and his affairs rationally, a sensible, clever man, amassing a considerable fortune by his profession, taking good care of his property, and never even suspected of derangement by several of his friends and acquaintances, some of them medical men." *

But we find that this branch of the subject is leading us too far. Contrast with the fact, that the highest medical authority pronounces it impossible to prescribe any certain general criterion for derangement, the kind of testimony which procured the conviction of Dr. Abner Baker in Kentucky. After a moment's attention to so recent an experience (Baker having suffered the sentence of the law in October, 1845), it will be needless to urge any further the fallibility of our tribunals, in opposition to the infallibility directing the administration of justice in the ancient times, under an abiding inspiration. Only two physicians were summoned, one on each side. Dr. Reid, the government witness, testified that "a person who can lay all his plans for accomplishing any thing to be desired would not be laboring under insanity"; as plain a contradiction as words can make of facts well known to every visitor in an insane asylum. It was proved that the suspicions which had prompted Baker to the murder were entirely baseless, the creations of a mind whose eccentricity had been becoming more and more marked for six years; and yet, the very part of the jury which recommended

* Prichard on Insanity, p. 268.

him to mercy, instead of firmly maintaining that insanity, which Dr. Allen, the head of their State Asylum, pronounced unquestionable, only say "that he was in a state of mental excitement and delusion, which *may be considered* insanity"; words which seem by their timidity to cower before the armed mob who watched the deliberations with the bloodshot eyes of revenge. Will it be believed that the victim of this brutal ignorance had for years thought himself haunted by persons who had conspired to kill him, — that "he looked all the while as if just recovering from a severe sickness," — that his brother, a physician, testified to the general disorder of his system, — that he had long neglected his business to lose himself in gloomy reveries, — that, when first tried, he was discharged by a magistrate on the ground of insanity, — and that, when his family surrendered him to the requisitions of the governor, he had been residing at Cuba for the sake of his health?

The absurdity of the plea of insanity was more vehemently denounced by the public in the case of William Freeman, a noted murderer, than in any other instance of recent occurrence. And now Freeman is dead, and seven physicians, with Dr. Brigham of the Utica Asylum at their head, have dissected his brain, and the result leaves no doubt that the public were wholly wrong in scouting a defence upon the ground of lunacy. Drs. Brigham, McCall, Briggs, Van Epps, Fosgate, Hyde, and Luce agree that "the brain presented the appearance of chronic disease; that the arachnoid membrane was congested; that the medullary portion was of an unnatural color, and harder than natural, as if parboiled; that the posterior portion of the skull appeared diseased, and the dura mater at that point unnaturally adherent; and that the left temporal bone, in the vicinity of the auditory nerve, was carious and much diseased." We suppose that Ex-governor Seward now stands amply vindicated, not only on the score of humanity, but on every principle of justice.*

* For those who seek further light upon this "Plea of Insanity," we subjoin the authorities quoted by Mr. Merrill in the famous Tyrrel case: — Dr. Elliotson on the Human Physiology. Dr. Wygam on the Duality of the Mind, p. 260. Jane C. Rider's Case, pp. 34, 35, 39, 40. Silliman's Journal, I., pp. 288, 432. Dr. Prichard on Insanity, p. 288. Dr. Ray on Insanity, p. 386, et seqq. Dr. Guy's Medical Jurisprudence, p. 265. Winslow's Plea on Insanity, I., p. 89. Sampson's Criminal Jurisprudence, p. 39. Trial of Abner Rogers, pp. 80, 81. Dr Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence, p. 650. Spurzheim's Phrenology, I., p. 143, et seqq. Good's Book of Na-

A second ground of argument, to show that the reasons for the "blood for blood" custom have ceased, is, that four thousand years ago the execution of a notorious criminal was a necessary offering to the peace of society. The only way in which further violence could be prevented was to thrust the violent man out of life. There are no traces in the patriarchal age, nor for weary years after, of any safe houses for the detention of criminals, still less of penitentiaries for their reform. Had there been even private places of secure confinement, like the castle-dungeons of the Middle Ages, we should certainly have found some allusion to their use, — in the case, for instance, of those state-criminals whom David exiled from his capital, or commanded to remain within their own walls. It is not sufficient to say, with Dr. Cheever, that "the state of society in which a tower of Babel was built was not likely to suffer for want of a jail." Society then might have been unconscious of its want, might have enjoyed rather than suffered through the privilege of instant retaliation, suitable to a savage state. It is not the ability of that period to erect state-prisons, which we call in question; a den from which no living being could escape need not be a work of the highest art; a rock rolled against a cave's mouth might be security enough. Our assertion is, that there was no call for such criminal apparatus at that early day. Society took a more rapid and simple way of satisfying the instinct of justice. It often demanded the penalty of the crime on the spot where it was committed.

On the other hand, we maintain, that physically, as well as morally, imprisonment for life is perfectly safe now. All admit that criminals can be effectually restrained from adding crime to crime without the taking of life. Many object to the proposed reform, on account of the social exposure which it would occasion. This popular prejudice is answered by the safety of Egypt during fifty years' abolition of the penalty, of Rome during two hundred and fifty, when the highest authorities declare that the republic flourished and order was preserved, of Tuscany during a quarter of a century, of Russia professedly from Elizabeth's time to the present, of Bombay during the administration of Sir James Mackintosh, of Paraguay under the Jesuits, and of Belgium since 1830. Michigan has lately made a similar trial with success.

ture, chap. on Sleep. Upham's Intellectual Philosophy. Abercrombie on Intellectual Powers, p. 218, et seqq.

We maintain that the safety of society would be promoted by the disuse of capital punishments, and that crime is prompted or occasioned by every infliction of this brutal severity. At the time when the mother country punished capitally one hundred and sixty crimes, life was far less safe than at present; under Henry the Eighth seventy-two thousand thieves were hanged, and yet robbery upon the highways everywhere prevailed, and the suburbs of the principal cities were infested by mercenary assassins.* Wherever laws have become less cruel, they have been more regularly enforced, and criminals have been awed by the certainty of strict justice far more than by any increase of severity, — a principle conceded by all writers and thinkers of the present day. Dr. Schmücker, himself an earnest advocate of the death-penalty, states that the mitigation of punishment in the case of highway robbery in Pennsylvania has been followed by the best effects, in a sensible diminution, almost a disappearance, of that crime. Why should murder alone be an exception to this general law, when the appalling nature of the murderer's doom causes jurors to trifle with their oaths, and witnesses to refuse testimony, and governors to pardon beyond all reason, — the whole resulting already, in the experience of Pennsylvania, in twenty-two chances of escape for one of conviction of persons accused, and many of them, no doubt, guilty? Were the punishment such as humane men could approve, a punishment that promised to reform its subject and not degrade its witnesses, the proportion might be reversed, and not four in a hundred of the justly suspected elude the violated law. In Rome, under the mild administration of the present Pope, crimes are represented to have vastly decreased, and public morals to have received an immediate impulse by the disuse of the more revolting penalties.

Some facts there are which go to show that imprisonment for life is more dreaded than the gallows. Cæsar is represented by Sallust as saying, — “*De pœna, possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem*

* Alison states (chapter sixtieth of his History), that the punishment of death was affixed by statute to the fearful and almost incredible number of above six hundred different crimes, “while the increasing humanity of the age had made so wide a departure from the letter of the law, that, out of 1872 convicted in seven years at the Old Bailey, only *one* had been executed,” — one out of nearly two thousand. Landor's saying is probably true, that the English law was bloodier than the laws of Draco, for “it punished with death crimes which he did not even notice.”

ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse ; eam cuncta mortaliū mala dissolvere ; ultra neque curæ, neque gaudio locum esse." And in confirmation of this sentiment, seven hundred citizens of the United States are reported to have committed suicide in a single year ; and seventeen hundred and forty-seven persons in the same space of time in France. In addition to this, many criminals have preferred the immediate and brief agony of suffocation to prolonged imprisonment, have resisted the efforts of counsel to obtain any commutation of their fate, and prayed their friends to let the trouble be over at once. Such was the case with Leadings, Charles Thomas, Cook, Noah M. Thomas, Babe, all of them examples of very recent occurrence in the State of New York. Mrs. Fry and the famous E. G. Wakefield were both led to the conclusion, that some other punishment ought to be substituted for death, by the habitual indifference of English convicts to their doom, by the jests about "dying game" which prevail at Newgate, and the exultation expressed by many a criminal in the thought of braving the terrors of the law. In making executions as private now as they were public once, many of our States have yielded to the friends of reform one of their strongest points, and agreed that this punishment is not a profitable sight for the community at large ; so that, in regard to the infliction of the penalty, nine American States have decided that its practice is unfavorable to the security and virtue of society.*

A third reason which existed in former times for the penalty of death has also become a reason against it. The Gospel spirit of hope for the fallen was not anticipated by the dispensations which preceded it. Certainly, in the patriarchal times, where the custom of blood for blood takes its origin, no idea was entertained of bringing back the wanderer or saving the lost. And under the Jewish code, by which such vices as smiting or cursing of parents, early unchastity, and some forms of ceremonial uncleanness, were punished with

* Sir Thomas More in his "Utopia" evidently takes sides with reformers on the question of penalty. "An English lawyer run out into high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who were then hanged so fast that there were sometimes twenty hanging upon one gibbet ; and added, that he could not wonder enough how it came to pass that there were so many thieves left robbing in all places." Raphael answered, "that it was because the punishment of death was neither just in itself nor good for the public ; for, as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual." — More's Utopia : Burnet's Transl. p. 13.

death, it must have been a settled conviction that there was no such thing as reformation of criminals. A man who had once forfeited his social position or his spiritual birthright had forfeited it for ever. Nay, it must be acknowledged that institutions in which society really and in good earnest took this matter in hand only date back to the labors of Howard, and are not yet by any means universal, even in Christian lands ; not so universal as they would be, we think, were this discouraging, barbarous, and vindictive law entirely obliterated.

It cannot be necessary to adduce facts to show that even the worst criminals can be recovered, — recovered to themselves and to society. No person has familiarized himself with the statistics of our best penitentiaries without being amazed at the proportion reported as reformed. In the institutions provided for juvenile offenders this result is very generally secured. And the Second Report of the New York Prison Association declares that “more than half the convicts discharged from our State prisons ‘go and sin no more,’ — repent of the crimes they have committed, and, despite of all obstacles, persevere in leading honest lives.” And, with the progress still to be made in the use of greater humanity towards the inmates of prisons, and in securing them an honest support by constant labor after their discharge, there is no reason to doubt that the majority may be saved.

Of course, if the murderer can be brought back to a right mind, and led to sit in lowly penitence at the feet of Jesus, as far as he is concerned, hardly any but would shudder at the thought of his being hanged. Having injured him, perhaps, by all social disadvantages and oppressions, by ignorance, bad neighbourhood, abandoned parents, an utter destitution of friendship, counsel, or help, by appearing to restrict even its religious privileges to those well clothed and comfortably circumstanced, society can now make him some tardy reparation, can furnish him constant and healthy toil, moral and religious instruction, an entire isolation from all corrupting associates and associations, and, above all, hope, such as never visited him before, the hope of self-approbation here, and of the smile of God hereafter and for ever.

These three supports of the judicial infliction of death — the former hopelessness of criminal reformation, the peril of letting criminals escape their only punishment, and the infallibility of the Divinely taught tribunals of Judea — appear, on

examination, to be powerful arguments *against* the perpetuation of the same penalty, where courts are fallible to a proverb, where criminals can be secured almost as well as in the grave, where, too, a majority may be brought under healing and saving influences.

Of the Jewish dispensation no more need be said. We have little patience to discuss the Mosaic permission of retaliation, when it is well known that death was attached to thirty-three crimes, when Moses provided cities of refuge where the homicide should flee, when the appearance is of as great a progress in the amelioration of the criminal code as "the times of ignorance" would permit, and when, in the Sermon on the Mount, our Saviour introduces a far higher spirit into legislation, in terms which can hardly be mistaken.

There are, however, two passages in the New Testament, and some even quote a third, brought in support of capital punishment. One is Romans xiii. 4, — "If thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

"Here," says Dr. Schmücker, "the Apostle evidently refers to the existence of capital punishment, to the fact that the higher powers were ministers of God, and used the sword in decapitating or otherwise punishing transgression. Here, then, we have the Apostle Paul distinctly sanctioning the use of capital punishment. This view of the Apostle's injunction is placed, if possible, in a still stronger light by another declaration, in which he acknowledges the right of the Roman governor to deprive him of life, if he should be found on a fair trial guilty of any capital crime, — 'For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die,' Acts xxv. 11, — thus admitting that there are crimes worthy of death, and that, if found guilty, he would not object to have the penalty inflicted on him."

We give this whole passage, as some have appeared to doubt if any such inference has been seriously made by any writers of ability. With regard to the passage which enjoins respect to the civil authorities of a heathen land, "the sword" was any thing but a token of capital punishment. The Jew executed by stoning, the Roman with the axe. Besides this, there were as death-penalties scourging, casting from the Tarpeian rock, strangling, hanging, burning alive, exposing to wild beasts, and drowning; but we hardly find

mention of the application of the sword (which was idolized as a noble weapon) to any such infamous end. The sword was and still is a military emblem, designating power sustained by an army, as the Roman was. In "the city of London the sword-bearer is one who carries the sword as an emblem of justice before the Lord Mayor." * In the Bible it means generally war ; as, "I will bring a sword upon you," Leviticus xxvi. 25 ; and Revelation xix. 15, "Out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword."

But Dr. Cheever regards Paul as asserting the justice of this punishment in his own person, in the passage already quoted from Acts. All we can read in the declaration, "if guilty, I am willing to suffer," is an assertion of innocence. He stood in the attitude of a culprit, not a prophet. It was not for him, then, to question the law under which he was tried, or the penalties of that law. It would have been a tacit admission of that guilt, which it was his immediate duty to disprove. Barnes and Livermore, commentators of opposite schools, draw from the passage only an appropriate vindication of the Apostle's innocence. He submits himself to the full sweep of the law, confident that it cannot hurt a hair of his head.

The remaining quotation — "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," Matthew xxvi. 52 — referred originally to that violent resistance of "the powers that be" which Peter was then hoping to make, and had no immediate reference to the crime of murder. The future, *shall* or *will*, is used, and not the tense of command. Its bearing now is to condemn all resort to the sword by individuals or nations, for self-defence or for aggressive war.

On the other hand, in the Sermon on the Mount our Law-giver expressly declares, — "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth : but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." "Hath been said" by whom ? By the Mosaic law of retaliation. In Exodus xxi. 24, and Deut. xix. 21, the very thing seems to be designated : — "And thine eye shall not pity ; but life shall go for life, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth*, hand for hand, foot for foot." This enactment, then, rather this general principle, of the Mosaic institutions is repealed ; and, instead of retaliation, our own Master pointedly condemns our returning blood for blood, and life for life. As Wordsworth beautifully says, —

* Webster.

"Before the world had passed her time of youth,
While polity and discipline were weak,
The precept, eye for eye and tooth for tooth,
Came forth, — a light, though but as of daybreak,
Strong as could then be borne. A Master meek
Proscribed the spirit fostered by that rule,
Patience *his* law, long-suffering *his* school,
And love the end which all through peace must seek."

Once, and once only, our Saviour was called upon to assist in inflicting the death-penalty provided by the law of Moses, in a case where there was no doubt of guilt. But, seeing the woman's hearty contrition, he simply said, "Go and sin no more," — showing, that, as his spirit prevailed upon earth, there would be hope for the fallen, and recovery for the lost, and mercy for the contrite, and a Father's house for the returning prodigal.

While there is not a word or letter in the New Testament which appears to justify the taking of life for life, while its spirit,* as it prevails, makes men more and more shudder at thus cutting short a brother-sinner's probation, we find that the early Christians considered the old penalty as repealed, and would not sanction capital punishment in the face of the commandment reenacted by Jesus, "Thou shalt not kill."

Governor Everett remarked to the legislature of Massachusetts, several years ago, that "The law must be respected as well as obeyed, or it will not be long obeyed. A state of things which deprives the Executive of the support of public sentiment in the conscientious discharge of his most painful duty is much to be deplored." He said this in regard to the various capital offences which yet darken the statutes of this State. It introduces the last thought which we have space to offer, — capital punishments are singularly *uncertain*, and

* The writer in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" sneers at any allusion to the spirit of the Gospel in this matter. He says (p. 297), — "It is an *inanis umbra*, a magnificent subject for declamation; but as for its logic, you might as well attempt to grasp a pure spirit in your arms as hope to feel or find its substance anywhere." One such passage as that in Dr. Arnold's fortieth sermon ("Christian Life, its Course," etc.) should silence this unseasonable pleasantry. "Latterly a better spirit has been awakened, and men have felt that it is no light thing to take away the life of a brother; that it is more Christian to amend an offender, if possible, than to destroy him." We do not quote Arnold as maintaining our view; we do not know that he did not; we only offer his incidental allusion to the Gospel as the expression of a sentiment which all must revere.

are becoming every year more and more doubtful. Where a human life is at stake, the reluctance of witnesses to testify, and of jurors to convict, the eagerness of some communities to petition for pardon, and the readiness of some governors to release, throw exceeding doubt over the course of criminal justice, and threaten to make the ineffectual penalties of the law encouragements to crime. In 1834, Lord Suffield stated to the British Parliament, that the well-known reluctance to prosecute, where the punishment was capital, had prevented the commitment of a large proportion of criminals, who now no longer escape punishment on that account, and that the proportion of convictions had increased for offences no longer capital.* He also stated, that "he held in his hand a list of five hundred and fifty-five perjured verdicts, delivered in fifteen years at the Old Bailey," — perjured to save the criminal's life by reducing the amount actually stolen below what was punishable by death.

In our own country, the experience of Philadelphia is especially alarming. It shows, as the London Morning Herald remarks of its own city, that "the shedding of human blood is a serious obstruction to the course of effective justice." Of one hundred and eleven charged with murder, during the last fifty years, in Philadelphia, only ten were convicted, and only half of this number actually suffered. Dallas's Reports, Vol. IV., give the case of a boy tried there for arson, and acquitted upon that capital charge, but tried immediately after upon the *same evidence*, for a misdemeanour *at the same time*, and found guilty. On a recent occasion, in New York, Judge Lewis, of Pennsylvania, related some cases within his own knowledge of the escape of undoubted murderers, and gave it as his opinion that the penalty prevented its own execution, and acted almost as a bounty upon crime. In various parts of the country it is becoming next to impossible to procure a jury willing to give a verdict for a capital offence. In the trial of Andrew Howard, at Dover, N. H., for murder, seven hundred persons were rejected from the jury on this account. In the case of Andrew Kleim, tried recently in New York, for arson and murder,

* If the statement made in several papers, to the effect that the mitigation of the English code had increased crime in England, be correct, this would show that the only real change was the detection and punishment of many offences which had formerly been passed by or screened from punishment on account of the appalling severity of the penalty.

nearly the whole day was consumed in filling up the jury. So with Gordon, in Rhode Island, McCurry, in Maryland, and Polly Bodine, in a more recent case. It has been reported, without contradiction, that the city of Providence could not furnish enough for a jury to sit upon Gordon's life.

Dr. Cheever replies to every such argument for change, — "Make the penalty certain, oblige jurors to keep to their oaths, compel men to lay aside their scruples about the sanctity of human life, deprive governors of their pardoning power," etc. Does he not see that the overwhelming tide of popular opinion is setting the other way, — that, even without the public discussion of a repeal, the growing humanity of the age promises to sweep away penalties which it will not inflict and cannot justify? Every expression of interest in penitentiaries and houses of reformation, every dawning of sympathy towards "discharged convicts" and penitent criminals, every increase of reverence for human life, alike aggravating the guilt of murder and awakening horror at the thought of our exacting blood for blood, serves to hasten the time when the death-penalty shall only be as the log thrown down for a king to the frogs, despised, insulted, defied, by those who once dreaded its power. Before that time shall draw any nearer, let us seek to put this matter on a just and permanent basis, according to the self-evident maxim of Edward Livingston, that "the law should never command more than it can enforce; and therefore, whenever, from public opinion or any other cause, a penal law cannot be carried into execution, it should be repealed." For well has one of our own poets sung, —

"Thank God that I have lived to see the time,
When the great truth begins at last to find
An utterance from the deep heart of mankind,
Earnest and clear, that all revenge is crime;
That man is holier than a creed; that all
Restraint upon him must consult his good;
Hope's sunshine linger on his prison-wall,
And Love look in upon his solitude."

F. W. H.

ART. V.—EDWARDS AND THE REVIVALISTS.

A CHAPTER OF NEW ENGLAND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

IN the works of religious writers at the beginning of the last century, we find lamentations over the spirit of lukewarmness which had infected the churches. It seems to have been acknowledged that the enthusiasm of the early Reformers had passed by, and that the earnest devoutness, self-sacrifice, delight in religious exercises, sanctity, stern conscientiousness, of their Protestant ancestors had subsided into staleness of thought and stagnancy of feeling. Such ebbs and flows, indeed, can be traced throughout the history of the Christian Church, and may be explained by principles which regulate alike the collective and the individual life of man. The law of vibration is universally operative in the moral as in the natural world ; and pulsation is felt throughout all bodies, material and social, in which life circulates. But it may be asked in passing, whether the Protestant movement, in its very aim to make religion wholly spiritual, did not involve the certainty that such oscillations as we have alluded to should be at once more frequent and more perceptible than they had been under the Catholic system.

In their doctrine of "justification by faith," the Reformers broke the thralldom of a hierarchy which claimed to be the only medium of Divine communication ; but they thereby threw every individual back upon his own experience, — an experience, in most souls, of moral weakness. The exclusive control of the sacraments was swept away, and the tyranny inseparable from such assumed prerogatives ; but the sinner was still enslaved to inward lust and to outward custom. Rituals made room only for stern realities ; the scourge was dropped, but the struggle with sense and self went on ; penance was abandoned, but remorse remained ; and for the comforts of the confessional were left the lonely agonies of an awakened conscience. Though nominally retaining the theory of a church, yet, by the mode in which the fact of personal responsibility was exaggerated, the Protestant was forced to feel that no human brother could help to bear the burden of his guilt to the foot of the cross. For himself, within himself, by himself, he must seek direct access through Christ to God. No absolution, no benediction, from a father

on earth would avail to encourage and strengthen. Only by the spirit of adoption breathed in from the Father in Heaven could he find peace. No bright company of saints seemed to him to shed light upon the path of temptation, where amidst pitfalls he must find his gloomy way. He stood alone. Doubtless the already strong in conscience grew stronger by this self-dependence, and learned to know the mystery of the life-giving power of prayer; but the weak in will, who most needed aid, were thus made conscious of spiritual destitution, as those never can be who feel that they are encompassed by holy ministrations, through which the church triumphant above and the church militant around pledge and proffer them aid.

In rejecting, too, the influences by which beauty through the senses refines the heart, and the power of symbols to lift man to lofty heights of contemplative thought, the Protestant, though in part freed from temptations to become a formalist or a mystic, was left more subject than the Catholic to the danger of fanaticism intermitting with deadness. The universal consecration of life is the ideal of the Christian Church throughout its various communities of believers; but in rejecting the rites by which Catholicism typified devotedness to good, Protestantism demanded of its members an almost unattainable spirituality as the only means of counterbalancing the pressure of worldliness. Only by sanctifying all relations of existence, of industry and property, of politics and social intercourse, of science and art, and making every man in his appropriate sphere and function a minister of divine life to his fellows, and so binding the members of society together in a communion of active love, for ever renewed from on high and embodied in daily deeds, can the loss be supplied of the system of sacraments so wonderfully perfected in the Middle Ages. In confirmation of this view, the history of each Protestant denomination, and of Protestantism as a whole, will be found to consist of a series of alternations from enthusiasm to apathy.

Such a season of apathy had arrived in New England at the beginning of the last century. And, apart from the general tendency of Protestantism and the operation of the law already indicated, by which successive ages become eras of inspiration or of indifference, it is easy to recognize some at least of the peculiar influences which caused that period to be a spiritually passive one. The corruption of manners,

which from Charles the Second's reign downwards had been working through English society, though less gross in particular manifestations than at some earlier times, was more generally diffused. We have only to read the pages of Addison and Steele, of Johnson and Goldsmith, to be satisfied that there was an almost universal prevalence of frivolous and profligate habits; and it is difficult to conceive how any high principle and pure feeling survived. The tone of even these writers, earnestly endeavouring as they were to apply their knife and cautery to the foul corruptions of the social body, is pervaded by a sentimentalism which proves that the moral malady had nearly reached the heart of the age. In the Colonies, to be sure, the healthy Puritan blood yet circulated, and the whole temper of life was at once more manly and simple, more earnest and upright. Still, the example of the mother country was to a degree contagious; her fashions and literature made themselves felt in manners and thought; and proof enough remains, that the children of the Pilgrims had sadly deteriorated from the style of character and life inculcated by their stern forefathers. The growing liberality, and the increasing interest in philosophy, also, which characterized the reigns of William the Third and the first two Georges,* by diverting men's minds from wonted channels of opinion, and threatening to undermine by new currents the long-tilled acres of old creeds, disturbed conscience, distracted feeling, and led insensibly to a neglect of traditionary usages of piety; and, finally, the commercial and industrial activity of the times absorbed in practical affairs the energies which, in earlier eras of theological and civil convulsions, had been concentrated upon the problems of man's spiritual existence. As the result of these combined influences, it was painfully felt by the devout, even in the heart of New England, that palsy was crippling the churches. Amidst these conditions the outbreak of enthusiasm, known at the time as the "Great Awakening," appeared.

The first traces of this movement are to be found in a small body of believers, in the neighbourhood of New Haven, Connecticut, who about 1730 became filled, as they thought,

* *Hist. of Dissenters*, Bogue and Bennett, 2d ed., Vol. I., pp. 213-244; Vol. II., pp. 77-134. Quincy's *Hist. of Harvard College*, Vol. I., pp. 196, 315.

with a new religious life.* Their own modes of expression, no less than the descriptions given by opponents, would lead one to class them with the Familists and Seekers, with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers, and the various bodies of enthusiasts who appeared in the times of the Commonwealth, and whose prototypes may be found in earlier ages of the Church. They all might be properly grouped, perhaps, under the one name of "Conscious Communicants in the Spirit." Their central doctrine was, that, by an immediate and sensible influence of the Holy Ghost, the soul underwent a total change from death to life, and the sinner was thereby suddenly lifted from the gloom of hell into the prospective glory of heaven. Not only was the converted person new-born, but this process was one which could be distinctly traced from the quickening of the germ to the travail throe, — if, indeed, this suggestion of a progressive development is not inconsistent with the instantaneous regeneration which the "New Lights" announced as the only means of escaping eternal death. Conscious new-birth was the chief object of their contemplation, the continual burden of their preaching, the experience longed and waited for, the theme of grateful exultation in their prayers. They aspired after and believed that they attained to entire oneness of will with God. They reached an undoubting assurance of salvation. The renewed man became at once, by communion with the Holy Spirit, himself holy. He put off the filthy rags of his own righteousness, and was clothed upon with the righteousness of Christ. Ordinances had become useless, for he had attained to the living realities which they symbolized. He passed from legal bondage into Gospel freedom. No longer an outcast, everlasting life was open to him as his home. He was never alone, but the Father abode with him as a friend. He could not be deceived in men, but tried all hearts by an unfailing test. Temptation had lost its hold upon his heart. He needed the Bible no more, for the Spirit enlightened him fully. He had no perplexities, for the path of duty was luminous with splendors of eternal day. All human learning was henceforth despicable. He could not err, for the face of truth was unveiled. He was justified, and needed no outward sign of sanctification. He was re-

* Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, pp. 202-215. Edwards's *Works*, Vol. III., p. 20.

formed in the Divine image, and could never again sin. He was *perfect*.

Closely connected in time with the movement thus briefly described, and having a general affinity with it, though carefully to be discriminated in many important respects, was the series of revivals of which Jonathan Edwards was the central medium. Full justice has been done to the metaphysical skill of this remarkable man, and perhaps more than due admiration allotted to his intellectual power, — for, as a writer, he was too acute in analysis, too limited in his range of observation, and too little comprehensive in synthesis, to be fairly considered a well-proportioned philosopher ; — but justice has certainly not been done to his religious character. Cold and phlegmatic in physical temperament, trained up to a Puritanical primness, scrupulously precise from mistaken notions of ministerial dignity, an absorbed student, inapt for social pleasures, solitary in his ways,* Jonathan Edwards was still possessed of a delicate sensibility, a fine appreciation of moral beauty, a faculty of concentrated contemplation, a deep enthusiasm, which in Catholic days would have made him a saint, and in a more liberal age might have expanded into poetry. One cannot read his works without feeling how much more of life and energy was in him than he was aware of, or could, under the conditions in which he was placed, embody in deeds. His dryness, hardness, severity, were accidental incrustations. The inward temper of the man was high and large. The very intensity of his speculative faculty, though exerted in but few directions, gives clear proof of his spiritual earnestness. Every line of that hair-splitting, chaff-chopping essay on the Freedom of the Will is instinct with the moral consciousness of the author, and a singular form of imagination animates his most abstract statements. His whole existence, indeed, was a conscious longing and waiting for salvation ; and the strength of his faith in Election and Effectual Calling sprang from his own profound experience of the reality of sin, and still more of the reality of redemption.

The germ of Edwards's writings and doings is to be found in his favorite doctrine of the Sovereignty of God : —

“ I remember the time very well,” he says, “ when I seemed to be convinced and fully satisfied as to this sovereignty of God,

* Edwards's Works, Vol. I., pp. 51 — 86.

and his justice in eternally disposing of men according to his sovereign pleasure." "The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things that I have lived much in since was on reading these words: — 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever.' As I read, there came into my soul, and was, as it were, diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being. . . . I thought with myself, how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be, if I might enjoy that God, and be rapt up to him in heaven, and be swallowed up in him for ever. I kept saying, and, as it were, singing, over these words of Scripture, and went to pray to God that I might enjoy him." "The sense I had of divine things would often of a sudden kindle up a sweet burning in my heart, an ardor of soul that I know not how to express." "And as I was walking and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind a sweet sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God. I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together; it was a sweet, and gentle, and holy majesty, and also a majestic meekness; an awful sweetness; a high, and great, and holy gentleness." "From that time to this, I scarce have found the rising of any objection in my mind against the doctrine of God's sovereignty in the most absolute sense, and his showing mercy to whom he will show mercy, and hardening whom he will. God's absolute sovereignty and justice, with respect to salvation and damnation, is what my mind seems to rest assured of as much as of any thing that I see with my eyes; at least, it is so at times. I have often had, not only a conviction, but a delightful conviction of it. The doctrine has often appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God." *

That significant sentence, "*at least, it is so at times,*" will not be unappreciated by those who find it impossible to reconcile the thought of the eternal death of myriads of souls in hell with the eternal life-giving power of the Heavenly Father, and who feel assured that the unending woe of creatures must jar in discord with the Creator's harmonious bliss. But while protesting against the dogma of everlasting damnation as a libel upon Supreme Goodness, let us not heap indiscriminate reproach upon Edwards and those who think with him. His monstrous error grew out of reverence, and it was his faith in the holiness of the Almighty which led him into even his most appalling statements. A little more hope

* Life of Edwards, Works, Vol. I., pp. 33-35.

or a little less fear would have completely remoulded his theology, and made him a teacher of universal good-will. By a slight change of the axis of rotation in his spirit, the ecliptic and equator would have become coincident, and his life would have rolled on serene and perennially verdant. Still it must be cordially granted, that in his essays on "God's End in Creation," * and on "The Nature of True Virtue," † this good man has recorded some of the most profound and beautiful statements ever made ; and it is not extravagant to add, that there are sentences in those papers which are as highly ideal, as concentrated in thought, as rich in suggestion, as any which Cudworth left in his sublime "Treatise on Immutability of Morality."

And yet with deference let it be questioned whether Edwards did touch the centre. He all but clearly perceived that God is God because he is Infinite Love, and so the One All-good, — that the being, manifestation, relations of the Deity are but different modes of good-will, — that his essential Divinity lives, moves, and has existence in his infinite disinterestedness, — that his eternal sovereignty is for ever anew justified, for ever anew established, in his perfectly pure self-sacrifice. But he stopped just short of that truth of truths. "The disposition to communicate himself, or to diffuse his own Fulness, was what moved God to create the world," ‡ he says ; but he does not say that this fulness, wherein will, wisdom, bliss, are blended in one ineffable beauty, is Love. A "respect to himself, an infinite propensity to, and delight in, his own glory," is still in Edwards's conception the Divine end ; and this indistinctness of view in relation to the essential benignity of God makes his whole scheme of thought inconsequential and contradictory, and gives a limited sense to the grand words "goodness" and "holiness," as used by him. If we define the holiness of God as being a "love of himself," § and not a love of absolute love, although we may add that he is "being in general or universal being," || we shall still inevitably attribute to him a selfish sovereignty.

The glory of God being his "one last great end in creation," ¶ it follows, according to Edwards, that the "Sover-

* Edwards's Works, Vol. VI, pp. 9-124.

† Ibid., Vol. II., pp. 395-471.

‡ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 33.

§ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 53.

|| Ibid., Vol. VI., pp. 53, 59.

¶ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 119, and Vol. V., p. 325.

eign Disposer has established all events by previous necessity, and orders his own conduct and its connected consequences" for the fulfilment of this end. Evil in all its forms and degrees, therefore, is predetermined, in order that "all parts of his glory should shine forth, — that every beauty should be proportionably effulgent, — that God's awful majesty, his authority and dreadful greatness, justice, holiness, should be manifested." * "Unless sin and punishment had been decreed, . . . there could be no manifestation of God's holiness in hatred of sin, or in showing preference in his providence of godliness." This leads us into the heart of Edwards's system. But let not one unacquainted with his writings at once burst forth in indignant reproof of this accusation against God, that he is "the author of sin." Let him first consider that no philosophy ever has, or ever will, fully explain the existence of evil ; that every profound thinker of ancient and modern times has found himself obliged to admit that the very conception of Good involves its opposite of Evil, and that, in fact, the beauty of the former is seen to be brighter by contrast with the dark deformity of the latter. And next let him be sure that he understands Edwards's meaning. His real thought is thus expressed : — "The goodness of God gives the being as well as the happiness of the creature. And the glorifying of God's mercy, as it presupposes the subject to be miserable, and the glorifying of his grace, as it supposes the subject to be sinful, are not to be conceived of as ultimate ends, but only as certain ways and means for glorifying the exceeding abundance and overflowing fulness of God's goodness." † Edwards had a sublime conception before his mind of an harmonious order unfolding for ever and ever, by which the communion of saints are to be raised through constant ascension in glory to a perfect unity with God ; and any one, who will read the treatise on "Decrees and Election" ‡ side by side with the teachings of his great master, § will confess that he has presented the dogma of predestination in a form far less dishonorable to God, less in conflict with our intuitions of right, and less shocking to our best instincts, than that in which Calvin

* Edwards's Works, Vol. V., pp. 357 – 360.

† Ibid., Vol. V., p. 404.

‡ Ibid., Vol. V., pp. 351 – 412.

§ Calvin's Institutes ; compare B. I., c. xv., § 8, B. II., c. ii., § 3, B. III., c. xxi. – xxiii.

has stated it. He, at least, does not mock men with an empty shadow of freedom, and haunt them with a mere phantom of responsibility.

A passing notice of Edwards's doctrines upon "God's sovereignty" and "decrees" has been given, because we are thus prepared to understand his view of *holiness*, and without a clear notion of this we cannot judge aright of the part which he and his followers took in revivals. Throughout creation and the spiritual world he saw an ever-progressive manifestation of the Divine holiness. "Holiness," he says, "is the beauty of the Godhead, the divinity of the Divinity, the good of the infinite Fountain of good, without which God himself would be an infinite evil, without which there had better have been no being." * So in man "the first objective ground of all holy affections is the transcendent amiableness, the infinite loveliness, of the Divine Nature." † "The very life and soul of all true religion is in the affections." On this subject of the affections Edwards is truly eloquent and instructive, and few writers of any age have come nearer to laying open the most profound and beautiful mystery of man's springs of action. According to his view, "all acts of the affections of the soul are in some sense acts of the will, and all acts of the will are acts of the affections." ‡ He denied that there was a "self-determining power" in man, because he referred all emotion up to God as its author. Nothing of the dry, hard necessitarianism of Hobbes, and the large school of naturalists, appears in Edwards. He never saw in the universe a vast mechanism, through ages and ages grinding on in cold passivity, and turning out events and characters to pattern; but nature and humanity seemed to him warmly alive with the interflowing and overflowing energy of the Being of beings. Everywhere he beheld a magnificent revelation of God's goodness; and thought that a "love of divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency is the spring of all holy affection."

Hence the very principle of religion is with him a disinterested love for goodness in itself; any thought of the influence which religious obedience may have upon one's own lot must be wholly secondary; the saint must lose a regard to his own interests in joyful adoration of the infinite moral glory of God.

* Edwards's Works, Vol. V., p. 211.

† Ibid., Vol. V., pp. 172, 173.

‡ Ibid., Vol. III., p. 94.

His descriptions of holiness are often beautiful, as well as just.

"Holiness," he in one place says, "appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature, which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul. The soul of a true Christian appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing in calm rapture, diffusing around a sweet fragrantcy, standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light. There was no part of creature holiness that I had so great a sense of the loveliness of, as humility, brokenness of heart, and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted to lie low before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL."*

Such was Edwards's conception of holiness, and certainly it was a high one, wanting only a heartier love of Divine love, a clearer perception of its unspeakably joyous and joy-giving nature, a more genial sense of the infinite variety and richness of the Deity's modes of action, and more trustful freedom, to make it true to our best desires. The cloud of old Puritan fear still veiled his firmament, but the light and warmth of the sun penetrated somewhat the gloom.

But how could man now attain to heavenly life? The original health and vigor of his affections were destroyed. Sin now enveloped him, sealed up the avenues of his heart, prevented his access to God, shut out the Spirit. "My experience taught me the bottomless depths of secret corruption and deceit which there were in my heart," says Edwards. From his own soul, as from observation, he thought he had learned that man's moral impotence was complete, his depravity total. Man individually and collectively was, in his view, corrupt to the core in original sin. In sinning, Adam, and all his posterity, as sinning in him, had become enslaved to their *inferior* or merely *natural* principles, which were intended to be subordinate, and had lost the superior or supernatural principles, which were designed to maintain absolute dominion in their hearts, by which alone they were

* Edwards's Works, Vol. I., p. 38.

made in the Divine image and might hold communion with the Holy One.* Hence, the "excellent order, peace, and beautiful harmony, the proper and perfect state" of man universal, had fallen into confused ruin.

"That the posterity of Adam should be born *without* holiness, and so *with* a depraved nature, comes to pass as much by the *established course of nature* as the continuance of a corrupt disposition in a particular person after he once has it."† "So that, on the whole, all mankind have an infallibly effectual propensity to that moral evil which infinitely outweighs the value of all the good that can be in them, and universally run themselves into that which is in effect their own utter, eternal perdition, as being finally accursed of God, and the subjects of his remediless wrath."‡

Statements more revolting to common sense, to conscience, to the highest spiritual consciousness alike of heathen sages and Christian saints, can certainly never be made, than this truly pious man has allowed himself to perpetrate upon this subject. In his self-contradictory assertions in regard to the *infinite* sins of *finite* creatures he has out-Lutherized Luther and out-Calvinized Calvin, if, indeed, that is possible; and he seems never to have had even a transient misgiving, that, in representing God as the eternally angry punisher of natural and inevitable evil, he did actually attribute to him a malignant injustice too bad to conceive of even in Satan. But evidently his exaggerations grew out of his own poignant sense of demerit, and a profound pity for his fellow-criminals; from no icy peak of philosophical indifference did he look down upon the masses of mankind weltering and swallowed up in the lava-floods of guilt. He was full of tender compassion, not scorn.

But what concerns us now particularly to notice in this doctrine is the view which he has repeated after the Reformers, that evil necessarily results in all men, when supernatural influence is withheld. Here, indeed, is the pith and marrow of the Orthodox creed upon the subject of original sin and regeneration. The Catholic Church described far more justly the measure of human depravity and the means of moral renewal. § But, making allowance for the half-statements which

* Edwards's Works, Vol. VI., pp. 428, 429.

† Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 432.

‡ Ibid., Vol. VI., pp. 157, 137.

§ Moehler's Symbolism, B. I., c. ii., § 5, pp. 137-142; c. iii., § 11, p. 178.

so fatally intermingle in our Babel speech, must it not be granted that sound philosophy as well as universal experience confirms, in the main, this view? It is the recognition of this "open secret" of our spiritual existence that has led men into the exaggerations to which the best have been most prone. For is not the doctrine of a total withdrawal of supernatural aid from man, and so of his total depravity, the most monstrous exaggeration? Does it not involve a gross intellectual absurdity, as well as imply impious doubts and denials of Infinite Goodness? Must not the central vitality of every impulse, even the most debased, be conceived of as for ever recreated by God? Is not the Spirit within the spirit of even the most abandoned for ever seeking to restore a more than original peace, purity, and power?

Looking upon man as an outcast, Edwards saw advancing through all history a glorious "work of redemption,"* of which Christ is the centre, a work whereby the Divine character is displaying itself in its majesty and loveliness, and through whose instrumentalities communion between God and the race of Adam is once more opened. His longing was to live for the advancement of this kingdom of heaven. He believed that the religious excitement which he saw appearing in his own society and elsewhere in the years 1734-1741 was quickened by influences showered from on high, and gave himself up, with all his energies, to till, and weed, and gather in the spiritual harvest. It is true wisdom, before passing judgment upon men or movements, to place ourselves within their sphere by sympathy. And it is well, therefore, to take Edwards's own testimony as to this revival, in which he was earnestly engaged. So let us condense from his description a few of its most characteristic features.

"Great numbers," he says, "have been brought, under this influence, to a deep sense of their own sinfulness, vileness, heinous disregard of God and contempt of the Saviour, — of their hardness of heart, proneness to evil, exceeding pollution, utter misery and worthlessness, exceeding helplessness, and extreme need of Divine pity and help. Thence they have passed to a new and great conviction of the truth of the Gospel, and to a firm persuasion that Christ Jesus is the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world. They have had a most affecting sense of the excellency and sufficiency of this Saviour, — of the wonders of

* Edwards's Works, Vol. II., pp. 9-392.

Christ's dying love and the sincerity of his invitations, and a consequent affiance to him, and perfect rest and holy rejoicing in him, — a lively view of the infinite amiableness of Christ's person, and of his transcendent beauty, until the heart was swallowed up in a glow of Christ's love coming down from Christ's heart in heaven, all the soul flowing out in love to him again, so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing from heart to heart, and all was solace, peace, and bliss unspeakable. Then the spirit dwelt on high, had admiring and exalting apprehensions of the glory of the Divine perfections, — of God's majesty, holiness, unerring wisdom, awful justice; felt a sweet rejoicing that he is all-sufficient and unchangeably happy, an exulting sense that he rules over all and does his will with uncontrollable sovereignty, a most earnest desire for the honor of his name, a sensible, clear, and constant preference of the Divine glory to all one's own interests, both worldly and spiritual, even to a willingness to live and die in darkness and horror, if only thereby he might be glorified. And there has been a great dependence upon the Holy Spirit, a wonderful access to God by prayer, frequent, plain answers to prayer, earnest longings after more holiness and conformity to God, with a deep sense of the need of God's help, an extraordinary self-dedication and resignation of all to God, with high exercises of love to him and rest and joy in him. Together with these states of feeling have there been thoughts of heaven as a world of love, where love shall be the saints' eternal food, where all shall dwell in the light of love and swim in an ocean of love, and where the very air and breath will be nothing but love; and there has been a most dear love for all God's people on earth, and a universal benevolence for mankind, with a longing to embrace the whole world in the arms of pity and mercy. These things have been accompanied with an exceeding concern and zeal for common duties, and a noted eminence in their performance, and an inoffensiveness of life and conversation, and a great meekness, gentleness, and benevolence of spirit and behaviour." *

Such, in brief, is the sketch which Edwards has given of the effects produced upon the subjects of this revival, and there is no reason to question its general fidelity. That there were great evils attending these scenes of intense excitement he was the last to deny, — though his theory of accounting for them, by the supposition that the Devil is more than usually active in sowing thistles and dandelion at seasons when he sees the angels scattering wheat-seed, might be thought a rather fanciful renewal of the old Persian and Manichæan no-

* Edwards's Works, Vol. III., pp. 123 — 140.

tions. But whatever his theory, it must be confessed, that, in fact, Edwards analyzed and exposed the self-delusions incident to enthusiasm with a master hand. And no clinical lecturer in the wards of a hospital could surpass him in the scientific accuracy with which he classified, examined, and gave the treatment of every possible form of morbid spirituality. By his pen, by preaching, and by personal exertions, he did his utmost to save what he devoutly considered a most holy work from the contamination of pride, self-will, and sensuality. But though laboring sincerely and wisely, he labored in vain. Apart from the erroneous views of God and man inculcated, there was a practical defect in the whole movement, in the fact, that, in seeking to elevate man's highest powers, it did injustice to the variety of his functions and relations as a *social* being upon *earth*. It did not sufficiently respect the symmetry of man's nature, nor the complexity of his destiny and duties. He who aims at being more than human, while he is human, is in great danger of becoming less.

The extravagances which intermingled in these revivals would, however, have been much less frequent and intense, had others comprehended more clearly and sympathized more heartily with the disinterested view of religion taught by Edwards in his best moods. But even he too often made low appeals to his hearers' personal fears, aroused their consciences through horrors spread out in awful extent and detail before their imaginations, and stimulated them to raptures of really selfish joy. In these respects, however, he was far less in fault than Whitefield, and the itinerants who followed in his train, to whose influence must be fairly traced a large proportion of the excesses which characterized that period, and to a brief notice of whose career in New England we must now pass.

It was in 1740 that Whitefield paid his first visit to Massachusetts. He was then in the full flush of early success, fresh, elated, vigorous, earnestly convinced of his Divine commission, overflowing with sympathy, conscious of his marvellous power as a speaker, fond of intense action, and not a little maddened with the fever of proselytism. His progress was a triumph. Reputation ran before him like a herald, and crowds of all denominations, old and young, learned and simple, rich and poor, some from curiosity, some from spiritual thirst, some from the contagion of popular feel-

ing, thronged to the houses of worship to hear the orator of whose wonderful influence such reports were spread. The story of his life is too well known to need repeating. Here, as in England, the few and the many confessed his magic charm. They could not resist his imposing air and magnetic energy, — his flexible and melodious voice, for ever changing in its modulations with every theme and occasion, — his dramatic skill and splendid rhetoric, — his direct, homely, quaint illustrations, — his pathetic appeals to natural feeling, and brilliant or terrible pictures for the imagination, — his few, plain doctrines, so intelligible that the most dull could comprehend his whole theology at first hearing, — his uncompromising threats of damnation, and promises of glory, — his tender, warm, gushing sensibility, — his profound devotedness, earnest piety, awful sense of spiritual realities, — and finally, and above all, his vivid conception of the mighty agency of God through Christ and the Spirit as mysteriously near and instantly operative.* Whole communities gravitated towards him as he swept along, and even the most cultivated and self-governed found their habitual equilibrium disturbed by an attraction which they could not at the time describe, nor well account for afterwards.

Whitefield's movements in New England, regarded as a means of introducing Methodism, do not demand any special attention from us here; but it is quite important to observe the impression which he produced upon the Orthodox Congregational body. For it is owing, in no slight measure, to his influence, and to the direction then given to piety, that a selfish pursuit of salvation was encouraged, instead of the love of absolute goodness and the utter surrender of private interests to universal well-being, in which the higher views of Edwards, when followed out to their just consequences, would have terminated.† Undoubtedly the whole tone of Protestant theology, from Luther and Calvin downwards, through even the best writers, had tended to produce an extreme individualism, to separate in thought the destiny of single men from the destiny of the race, and to stimulate each believer to an intense consciousness of personal guilt, and an

* Stephens's *Miscellanies*, Art. *Life of Whitefield*. Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, p. 36, et passim. Quincy's *Hist. of Harvard University*, Vol. II., pp. 40–53.

† Edwards's *Works*, Vol. III., p. 499; Vol. IV., pp. 172, 183. Hopkins's *Life*, pp. 118, 137.

equally intense longing for personal redemption. The doctrine of Original Sin, of a fatal moral malady pervading the whole of humanity, was but a partial glimpse of the indissoluble vital bond by which mankind are united in good and evil, in suffering and glory, in depravity and restoration, and which Catholicism had aimed at least to represent. Before the minds of the Reformers had dimly hovered, indeed, the conception of a universal Christ, of a divine power of grace brooding over and embosoming the ages, by communion with which all regenerate souls became fellow-heirs to the promises and privileges of the invisible church. But the Quakers were the only sect that felt the life-giving warmth of this sublime reality; and even they soon fell into a theory of spiritual isolation, as blank and desolate as that of the Lutherans and Calvinists. For the most part, Puritan piety took the form of a lonely pilgrimage over deserts of sin to the tomb of the Redeemer, where, single-handed, each mortal was to fight his way through the infidel host.

The direct influence of Whitefield's doctrine of conversion was to give new strength to this already predominant tendency. He tore from the sinner every rag of concealment, and drove him, in all the consciousness of his naked deformity, into the piercing light of God's presence; and when the poor wretch, horror-struck by the contrast of his pollution with Divine purity and crushed by a sense of his own guilt, was ready to plunge for escape into eternal darkness, then he showed the benignant Saviour bending from a golden cloud towards him, with white robes and wreaths of rejoicing, with crown and palm-branch for him, as if he were the beloved son, long lost and found. The personal experience of each convert was made the central point of interest, and attention was absorbed in his own horror, his own joy. Yet true, in spite of himself, to the facts of man's collective life, Whitefield sought to bring about conversion by the contagious sympathy of immense multitudes tossed together as the ocean-waters are by the impulse of an earthquake-shock. And so, by contact of extremes, individualism and unity of life met together in the Methodist revivals. Still, though groans of agony and shouts of praise went up in concert from the great bodies of the anxious and the assured whom he swayed by his preaching, repentance and rejoicing alike took a selfish character. The effects of such urgent appeals to self-love were apparently stronger than could have been

caused by any presentation, however bright, of God's perfections and of the blessed life of devotedness; yet, on the other hand, the emotions thus produced were probably spasmodic and transient in even the majority of minds. Such moral galvanism is better fitted to agitate a lifeless body than to pour new tides of health through a debilitated frame.

Whatever degree of influence we may attribute to the agency of Whitefield, it is the fact, that, since that period, through the whole revival movement, the same bad forms of enthusiastic excitement have been perpetuated. Immediately after him came the first of the prolific brood of itinerants, among the most noted of whom were Davenport, Tennent, Wheelock, Allen, Barber, Bliss, of whose uncouth deeds and inconsiderate words the good Dr. Chauncy has kept choice specimens, much as a naturalist preserves monsters.* With them a new era in revivals opened. Doubtless the originating impulse of the excitement produced by means of these men was good. The elemental fire of this, as of all great religious excitements, radiated from the sun. But the heat which should have been genially diffused was concentrated in the lens of morbid feeling, and consumed what it should have quickened. Spread rapidly by zealous preachers, this revival kindled, as it ran, a destructive conflagration, and in all communities which it reached produced jealousies, strifes, and divisions. Venerable ministers became objects of contempt; neighbourhoods passed from friendly exchange of good offices into hostile debates, and fulminated anathemas upon each other's bigotry and carnal stupidity; home circles were broken up, the husband and wife reviling each other as dead in trespasses or mad in zeal, the young forgetting all reverence, and, while babes in years, as well as in grace, now summoning their guardians with terrible threats to repentance, and now condescendingly encouraging them to follow their small foot-prints up the path to peace; humility, decency, good sense, prudence, were alike trampled down in the rush of proselytism, and in the drunkenness of zeal once-peaceful congregations were transformed into mobs of half-crazed conversionists. The language of writers of that time gives one an impression of scenes of spiritual turbulence as strangely ridiculous in their extravagance as they were mournful for their perversion of man's highest powers. The gov-

* Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, pp. 220 - 229, et passim.

error of Connecticut, in his proclamation for a day of public fasting, in 1743, speaks of the "prevailing spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority, divisions, separations, contentions in churches," and desires that prayers may be offered to God "that he would direct the ministers of the Gospel, heal their divisions, and restore unity and harmony in their sentiments and practices." And the Massachusetts Convention of Pastors, in the spring of the same year, "taking into consideration the errors in doctrine and disorders in practice that have obtained of late in various parts of the land," advise their brethren to guard against the "intrusions of itinerants and exhorters" who have produced "confusions" and "disorderly tumults" in the churches.*

Men should be judged by the standard of their own times; and one must hope that these zealous brethren served at least the end of a prairie-fire, of burning up dry grass and fertilizing the ground with ashes for a fresher growth. Allusion has been made to their excesses only because therein were manifested, in an ultimate form, the tendencies which are universally latent in the revival system, and which always have displayed and will display themselves to some degree in periods of excitement. The evils referred to — such as terrible fears producing groans, shrieks, tossings, writhings, — sudden outbreaks of joy, ecstasy, rapture, — mysterious intimations, warnings, suggestions, voices, leadings, impulses, — visions and trances, — presumption and pride, — censorious judging, intermeddling, arrogant dictation — will abound in seasons of conversion just in the degree in which the religious life is presented as a private provision whereby to escape from hell, rather than as a boundless welcome to the freedom of the city of God.

But let not disgust excited by the unmannerly and unmannerly displays of enthusiasts lead us to be false to the sublime reality which is the life of every great religious movement. The mystics of no age have lived in vain. Thanks to the Quakers and the Perfectionists, to the Methodists and the Revivalists, to Edwards and Whitefield, and the large company of like earnestly devout men, that they have borne their testimony, even though amidst error and weakness, to the

* Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, pp. 294-301.

fact of Divine inspiration, and to the awful and glorious experience of the spiritual life. Better any form of enthusiasm than apathetic naturalism. And therefore, in closing this historical sketch, let us, for a moment, try to justify the fundamental principle of the movement which has been thus frankly criticized.

Did not the Orthodox body, then, partially discern a truth in their doctrine of Regeneration or the New Birth? Dim views of God's benignity they may have held, and with them most exaggerated notions of man's depravity; and even in relation to spiritual influence, may have so misstated the fact of Divine agency as to deny the correlative fact of human agency. Still, it was not a delusion of imagination, but a grand reality, to which they bore witness in their doctrines of grace. The only consistent conception of a free finite will is of a spiritual force for ever anew created by the Infinite Will. The only liberty possible is the liberty of love. God is love, one and universal. And as the good which Infinite Love seeks is one with the good of all finite existences, He and He alone, in desire, method, action, is perfectly free. A created spirit can be free, then, only in the degree in which it lives in communion with God, receives life from the infinite centre, distributes life to the ever-widening circumference, and so mingles its existence with the radiance of joy which in endless waves flows forth from the Being of beings. A spirit has free-will in proportion as it consciously blends its energies of good with the universe, — with all spirits, — with the Infinite One. In the impersonality of such disinterestedness is found the fullest individual force, the richest individual experience, the most intense consciousness of individual character. It is only by a paradox that we can describe the awful mystery of our spiritual nature; and so it may be said, that a spirit lives just in proportion as its life is from God, in God, to God. Whence it follows, from strictest logic, as well as from profoundest consciousness, that the intelligent creature who lives from itself, in itself, to itself, does, so far as in its power, commit spiritual suicide. This living death is sin. It is slavery to nature, to fellow-spirits, to self. And the spirit thus enslaved is lower than a brute; it is, according to its degree and kind, a devil. For the human being which is not in communion with the super-human does not become thereby merely natural; it becomes unnatural, and is in so far fiendish as it is selfish.

If, forgetting the technicalities of sectarian theology, and in the spirit of a catholic wisdom, we read the biographies of mystics and saints, we shall see that these pious souls all consciously reach a crisis through which, sooner or later, suddenly or gradually, every human being is led by God, and must willingly pass in attaining to immortality. A time would come, even to the sinlessly pure, as they entered from moral infancy to moral maturity, when the experience of *rational liberty* would be felt, never again through eternity to be forgotten ; such a time *must* come to the sinful and impure, as they recover from moral sickness to moral health. Then is the wonderful problem to be solved, of establishing just relations between finite existence and the Infinite Being ; then are conflicting individual rights confronted before the judgment-seat of absolute law ; then must will and wisdom be married, and from their union spring beautiful charity ; then is inward unity enthroned in sovereignty over all affections and faculties ; then, above all, does conscience, the central authority in the spirit, acknowledge its loyal duty to the King of kings, whose purposes are impersonal, whose thought is order, whose desire is the well-being of every creature. Men learn then the threefold fact of existence : their near connection with nature, yet power of moulding and governing it, — their living union with their fellow-men, yet duty of reacting upon them, — their dependence upon God for reason and will, and yet their need of aspiring towards him, working together with him, as the very condition of receiving his aid. Life, in all its complexity and richness, its stern facts, its solemn and glad realities, its everlasting issues, its boundless relations, opens above, below, in wonders which no thought can fathom. Is it surprising that men sink under the weight of revelations given in these high hours of self-knowledge, and are blinded by too near vision of the glory of God ?

Religious enthusiasts, in their extravagances, have still testified to facts. In every person is the great warfare — portrayed in all history, biography, and literature — once again waged between Providence, Free-will, Fate ; in every person must the ministry of reconciliation be repeated, the atonement made. Man's liberty consists in obedience to the Divine command, as given afresh each day and hour in duty ; his wisdom, in conformity to the laws of heavenly order, wherever and however revealed ; his joy, in disinterested communion and coöperation with the Creator and fellow-

creatures. His highest success is in entire self-surrender. Piety is an opening of our inmost spirits for the living God to dwell in us by love ; morality is a diffusion of the harmony, truth, beauty, of which willingness makes us the medium ; eternal life is this very influx and efflux of goodness, by which the growing spirit is re-formed for ever and ever, in the image of the Father. And in this process of incessant renewal, why should we hesitate to believe that mighty powers from the past, from holy spirits in heaven, from humanity, from all humble and heroic souls, work with us, if we are faithful ? This sublime experience has been perennial in all lands, all ages, — in China, India, Persia, Greece, — most manifestly throughout Christendom, — and grows ever fuller and richer with the development of the human race ; but the language in which it may find expression will vary with the associations of each nation and era, and with the character and condition of individuals. Every mortal must be “born again” of the spirit ; and the sign of this regeneration is always and everywhere a consecration to universal good.

W. H. C.

ART. VI. — GERMANY, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL.*

“It will be a long time,” says a French writer, “before Germany of the Present will begin to be Germany of the

* 1. *The German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century*. By the German CORRESPONDENT of “The Continental Echo.” London. 1846. 12mo. pp. 469. [Evangelical.]

2. *Die Throne im Himmel und auf Erden* (The Thrones in Heaven and on Earth). By PASTOR UHLICH. Dessau. 1845. 12mo. pp. 40. [Friend of Light.]

3. *Die Kirchliche Bewegung der Gegenwart* (The Ecclesiastical Agitation of the Present): a Sermon. By DR. GROSSMAN. Leipzig. 1846. 12mo. pp. 24. [Moderate Rationalist.]

4. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*: January, 1845. Article entitled, *Die Politische Stellung Preussens* (The Political Condition of Prussia). [Liberal.]

5. *Revue des Deux Mondes*: Octobre, 1845. Article entitled, *Histoire de l'Agitation Religieuse, d'après les Documens Politiques et les Pamphlets* (History of the Religious Agitation in Germany, from Political Documents and Pamphlets): Novembre, 1845. Article entitled, *Le Parti Constitutionnel en Prusse* (The Constitutional Party in Prussia): Janvier, 1846. Article entitled, *L'Allemagne du Present* (Germany of the Present); continued in the succeeding numbers.

6. *Vorträge vor Protestantischen Freunden, gehalten zu Magdeburg am*

Future." The question of the condition of Germany is one that seems fated never to be settled, because the data are in a state of constant change. The topographer of Sahara is puzzled, and not a little vexed, to find his outlines contradicted over night by the shift of the sand-heaps. We pity the man who thinks he has got a permanent and available chart of the German soil, more than we do the harassed amateur of South Sea exploring expeditions. Cook's ultimatum served very well for a score or two of years, till it was suddenly discovered that neither his dictum nor the ice-barrier was impassable; and now new coasts and inlets, taking most impracticable and contradictory directions, occur somewhat faster than a man of moderate means can furnish himself with their crayon profiles. The Congress of Vienna never obliterated the old limits of Germany, extinguished her obsolete territories, and inverted the customary relations of states and rulers, with more breathless facility, than the process of thought or the spirit of the age at present shifts the mental distinctions of her soil, like the bits of a kaleidoscope. Germany is a great, bewildering blur; to unravel nebulae which have resisted all the mammoth telescopes were comparatively a jest. But we resist our inclination for this particular vein of description, lest a praiseworthy reluctance to peruse the impending article be a result, which we prefer not to hazard.

Any definite view of the condition of Germany which a journal ventures to offer must be understood to be valid only till the succeeding number. But we hold the question to be far more important than might be presumed from its confused and variable character. It is true, some of the elements which enter into that great heap of fermentation are little more noticeable than the boisterous hangers-on of a revolution. They are low agents from the suburbs, who mix up a deal of sansculottism with freedom of thought and conscience. We refer now, for instance, to the exaggerated radicalism of such men as Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach; they strike us like disappointed and spleeny politicians, who change their party, but not their nature. Both attempted something in the

Reformations-feste, 1842 (Addresses before Protestant Friends, delivered at Magdeburg upon the Reformation-festival). Leipzig. 12mo. pp. 62.

7. *The Progress and Prospects of Germany. A Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, at Providence, R. I., September 1, 1847.* By HENRY WHEATON, late Minister of the United States at the Court of Prussia. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54.

ultra-democratic line in politics ; but as nobody formerly could be a politician in Germany except in a very imbecile and gentlemanly way, their ambition was soon diverted, by hints the most unequivocal, to the domain of theology, where, with changed formulas, their spirit remains the same. We refer to a crowd of shallow and testy pamphleteers, with no definite theories, but who exist simply to annoy the flanks. They are the moral vermin, whose puncture is no sooner felt than a lazy shake of the royal hand drives them into Switzerland, Belgium, or Paris. Unfortunately for Germany, every body can write ; and we are not certain that the Prussian system of instruction does not render censorship a necessary antidote. We may also safely refer to some of the Catholic writers with more zeal than judgment. If the accounts of the last book of a man no less distinguished than Goerres, designed to oppose the Rongean movement, be correct, he has excited bad passions, disgraced himself and his cause, and authorized a complete Jacobinism of thought and language. There is also a certain class among the Communists to which we might refer, who injure the cause of the working-men, and vitiate the question of the rights of labor, so prominent in Germany, by loose talk about property and marriage, quite distinguishable from the scientific coolness and reserve of Fourier.*

But these are only the dregs and scum of Germany, who

* Some extracts upon German Communism, derived from the *Almanach Phalanstérien* for 1847, are corroborated by our impressions obtained from other sources. "This thought is attributed to Marc:— 'Liberty does not exist, because Christianity is still too profoundly rooted.' Standau, head of a club at Lausanne, writes as follows:— 'The club marches with giant strides in the path of atheism and of the subversion of morality.' " Yet we suspect he only refers to a conventional morality. Again, a journal contains these sentiments:— "God and immortality are effete words. I would rather see great vices, I should prefer the commission of monstrous and bloody crimes, that there might be no longer any question about this tedious morality. All that the liberal party is doing in Germany has a fatiguing monotony." Mrs. Aston, wife of an English manufacturer, but daughter of a German pastor in Halberstadt, leads the female corps who criticize the immoralities of marriage. These exist in Boston no less than in Berlin, and call loudly for a better legislation ; but we are not impressed by Mrs. Aston. "Booted and spurred, a switch in her hand, a cigar in her mouth, and a plumed chapeau coquettishly tipped upon one ear, Mrs. Aston promenades along the most fashionable streets in Berlin, and people say, 'There goes the German George Sand.' " Certainly not the Parisian George Sand, who has eschewed such amenities, while she has repressed, we think, her early grossness. But we refrain from propagating the scandals, which are so greedily devoured by the fastidious, about Mrs. Aston and her clique, whose great license may yet never have degenerated into crime.

briefly swim the surface, like the drift and yeast of a mighty tide. The various legitimate parties, who seek to win the public ear and to establish both their civic and spiritual validity, move in an atmosphere of much confusion, and generate no little heat ; but then they all start with a definite theory, and advance according to fixed laws. They are surrounded with the turbulence inevitable in a revolutionary period ; for Germany is passing through a great revolution, whose ultimatum is the radical modification of both Church and State. To one who values freedom of conscience, and that healthy growth which is achieved under a popular constitution, Germany is the centre of absorbing interest. A period of hope and activity has occurred there, to be paralleled only by the times of the Reformation, whose faults it is rectifying, and whose interrupted labors it seems destined to complete. We shall find, however, that even the legitimate parties constituting this great national movement contain men of crude thought, of hot passions, and of boundless egotism ; so that the leaven of selfishness, which infects every human aspiration, is here also to be continually noticed and deplored. Each party is like Daniel's statue, with head of gold and feet of "iron mixed with miry clay." Neither does each present a unity of opinion any more than of motive, though the differences do not endanger that amount of coherence which is necessary to create a party that shall not merge all healthy individualism in one symbol or constitution. The party drill of the Evangelical wing and of the Pietists is, after that of the Ultramontanists, the most complete ; for their unity is partly created by the necessity of defence. The state supports them, it is true, but the whole tone of German thought impinges upon their exclusive position, and threatens their emoluments. However varied and confused the movements which proceed from different confessions and hostile schools of philosophy, yet a fair elimination will give the prominent tendency in the formula of the great Frederic, — "Let every man save himself in his own way." This is a matter of some difficulty, where the state superintends the transit from earth to heaven, and its corps of testy *douaniers* intercept contraband articles as rigorously as if a customs-union had been established between those territories. Numerous civil disabilities await the courageous dissident, almost, and in many notorious instances actually, amounting to a decree of exile. In Germany *one* man may think as he pleases ; but the moment that

two or three are gathered together, because their thought is similar and leads to unity of worship, the group is dispersed as savoring of rebellion. It is for this reason that a complete idea of the religious state of Germany cannot be obtained without entering the domain of politics. The two questions are as inextricably blended as Church and State are ; a reform in either involves, more or less directly, a reform in the other also. Especially in Prussia is it true, that the strength of the constitutional party, and its hopes of success, reside in the great popular movement for freedom of thought and worship. The republican element is religious, and the free religious element is republican. A brief history of the rise and progress of the different religious sects in Germany, and of the Prussian constitutional movement, will give us material from which to construct a picture of Germany of the Present.

The fortunes of the Catholic Church first solicit our attention. That particular kind of Ultramontanism, or Roman influence, which compelled the formation of the first Lutheran party, as an embodiment of the German popular antagonism, is sufficiently well understood. But the very success of the Reformation produced a partial reaction in favor of Rome, so that the last century witnessed many a well-fought field reconquered by the diplomacy of Papal nuncios and the unceasing subterranean manœuvres of the Jesuits. Ultramontanism, then, has never ceased to be Germany's greatest foe. Her emperors have resisted it, and have often forced back the tide by strong but intermittent policy ; still, the waters have stolen back again at the least subsidence of the pressure. The cowl has always carried more cunning than the portfolio. It must be understood that this resistance to Rome was not offered by Protestant Germany any more directly than by Catholic Germany. Emperors, both Protestant and Catholic, have sought to stem the political usurpations of the Papal chair, to preserve their own prerogative unimpaired. But the national feeling in the Catholic Church itself has always been strong enough to form a basis for these political operations. This important point must be distinctly noticed. The German's spiritual subscription has not stifled his love for the fatherland. Religion has not completely and triumphantly decided the questions of difference between Vienna, Munich or Berlin and Rome. This element, then, of national predilection has given the impulse to the frequent attempts to form a German Catholic Church, which we must

notice as first in order of those ideas which complicate the present question.

Frederic the Great was the first monarch who dared openly to resist, both in favor of his Catholic subjects and from his hatred of ecclesiastical control, the policy of Rome. He seems to have been fortunate in having for his contemporary a Pope who could not wield the thunders of Gregory, and who would have manifested his infallibility, at least of private judgment, by abdicating the sacred chair at the first sheen of Frederic's bayonets. He was the Benedict the Eighth, who, in corresponding with Voltaire, styled him his "beloved son in Christ Jesus." Such a man's theology was too easy to render him an uncompromising defender of the rights which he assumed, but always with as little zeal as judgment. Frederic attempted to organize the anti-Roman feeling among his Catholic subjects, by appointing a vicar-general who should be independent of Rome, and to whom all German Catholics were to appeal in ecclesiastical matters. He was not, like many previous German rulers, cajoled out of his opposition, nor was it possible to intimidate him. There runs an old soldier-song of the time of Frederic : —

"The Empress has made an alliance with Gaul,
And the Russians in haste on our boundaries fall,
And the old Pope at Rome, too, revolts against me, —
Up, children, and show them that Prussians are we !"

The king's policy stimulated to like resistance other parts of Germany, till at last the question appeared to be settled, that every succeeding Pope would have to contend against the extra heresy of a German Catholic Church. The bare idea of sharing the dominion of the indivisible Church with a German primate, whose brow in time the tiara might adorn, was intolerable, and all attempts to realize it have been tenaciously resisted, either by piety or with fraud.

The successor of Benedict was Clement the Thirteenth, in whose pontificate was published a remarkable book by Nicholas von Hontheim, himself a Catholic, entitled "The Position of the Church and the Legitimate Power of the Roman Pontiff." Von Hontheim was a bishop of Treves and pro-chancellor of its university. He addressed the Pope, and deprecated in strong and bold language the usurpations which had always distinguished his predecessors. He opposes the notion of pontifical supremacy by appeals to councils and his-

tory. He argued whether it were probable that princes and their people would tolerate foreign interference. He maintained that the Popes themselves invented the figment, that they were the representatives and vicegerents of Christ ; and he appeals to the German bishops to resist the encroachments of Rome, and to establish their own natural and necessary claims. The work gained an honorable place in the famous Index, but it could not be suppressed. On the contrary, it was the fruitful germ of numerous anti-Papal writings,* which served to explain and consolidate the national feelings of the liberal wing of the Catholics. Von Hontheim was wheedled into a retractation ; but it is well remarked, that " the gain to Rome was small, as he neither adduced any grounds for a change of views, nor any arguments in favor of hierarchical maxims." Galileo's quiet reservation, " But it does though," was more effective than his formal recantation.

The next serious and practical efforts to establish a German Catholic Church were made by Joseph the Second, of Austria, one of the few princes who have sought to mould, and not to crush, their age. He was, indeed, so far in advance of Austrian bigotry and superstition, as to be often thwarted by the want of practicable material. But he succeeded in establishing healthy reforms in the ecclesiastical condition of his country, and so far severed the old ties which bound her to Rome, that both Catholic clergy and laity freely felt and responded to the enlightened spirit of the times. He suppressed the majority of convents, and diverted their revenues to the establishment of schools for the people ; the rest were forbidden to pay allegiance to any foreign religious order. He turned the monks to use, and sought to liberalize the mind and culture of the clergy. But more than this : he tore obnoxious bulls out of the liturgy, and forbade the promulgation of all succeeding ones until they had been first submitted to imperial censorship. All appeals to Rome in cases of conscience were forbidden. All ecclesiastical dig-

* As matter of history, we introduce the names of some prominent dissidents : " *Ichstatt* of Ingolstadt, *Barthel* of Wurzburg, *Koller*, *Rautenstrauch*, and *Eybel* of Vienna." The last wrote a vigorous pamphlet, entitled " What is a Pope, and what a Bishop ? " *F. C. von Moser*, a distinguished lawyer, wrote a history of the Papal nuncios in Germany, which confirmed the bishops in their resistance to foreign interference. The four archiepiscopal electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg were prominent adherents of the German policy of Joseph the Second, who never would recognize a nuncio as the Pope's agent, either in spiritual or temporal affairs.

nities emanating from that quarter were to be refused. The ritual was simplified, and Joseph even committed what for a Catholic emperor was the ultraism of introducing a German hymn-book into the churches, and giving Bibles to the laity. And, finally, that his own spirit of toleration might live after him as the law of his empire, he issued a toleration-edict, full of surprising concessions to every existing sect in the country, and of liberal provisions for those which might afterwards appear. It is notable that many of the weightiest Catholic bishops firmly seconded their emperor's plans for reformation, throwing all their influence, so mighty for good or for evil, in the anti-Papal direction. No wonder that the startled and exasperated Pontiff made the famous Ultramontane journey, and removed the centre of infallibility from the Vatican to Vienna, "having first revoked by a brief the bull, *Ubi Papa, ibi Roma*, in order that, if he died upon the journey, the cardinals might assemble at Rome." He wanted money, too, for the reforms of the Emperor had grievously diminished the sacred funds, and Pius the Sixth, in attempting to drain the Pontine marshes, had effected that object only with his treasury. Therefore the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Pope crossing the Apennines in February, bankrupt in purse and credit, a mendicant turned propagandist.

The Emperor resolved that the cause of German Catholicism, or perhaps — for his motives were twofold — his own prerogatives, should not be sacrificed in the amenities proper to be extended to this travelling Pope.

"Accordingly," — we translate from a French writer, — "when the Pope arrived at Ferrara, a Hungarian officer announced to him that the Emperor, his master, to receive so illustrious a guest, had caused to be prepared the apartment of Maria Theresa herself. The Pope was profoundly touched by this attention, and wished to recompense the messenger with the gift of a consecrated chaplet, but the messenger chosen by the Emperor was a Protestant. At Goritz, a detachment of guards waited to compliment his Holiness at his entry upon Austrian soil, and all the men of this detachment, without exception, belonged to dissenting communions. The Pope, astonished at not seeing the Archbishop of Goritz, demanded the reason of his absence, and learned with painful surprise that an order from the Emperor had caused that prelate to repair immediately to Vienna to justify himself for having appealed to Rome against the toleration-edict. The Pope officiated with great pomp at the church of St. Etienne, on Palm

Sunday. His master of ceremonies, whom he had brought from Rome, pretended that on this occasion the seat of the Pontiff, in the choir, ought to be a little more elevated than that of the Emperor. When Joseph was informed of this ridiculous pretension, he contented himself with causing his own seat to be removed, and with not appearing at the ceremony."

This stroke revealed to the public the failure of the negotiations which had commenced. For when they came to business, the Pope was eloquent, learned, and pathetic, but Joseph answered, with much phlegm, that he was not brought up to theology, but if his Holiness would submit his representations in writing, they should be referred to the clergy for examination. A little after this, his Holiness, thinking it would be politic to visit the prime-minister, did him the honor to wait upon him at his hotel. Von Kaunitz received him with much pomp and dignity, but had not thought it worth while to change his ordinary apparel; and when the Pope, taking leave, extended his hand to receive a Catholic kiss, the minister, pretending to misinterpret the gesture, shook it heartily, exclaiming, "With all my heart, with all my heart." Nothing but the necessity of draining the Pontine marshes could have carried a Pope imperturbably through such a scene. A few trivial concessions, afterwards magnified by forced construction, were the only results of this whole Papal travesty; unless we except a tolerable witticism which ran through all the coffee-houses of the capital, — "The Pope has read mass in Vienna, but without a Credo for the Emperor and without Gloria for himself." How magically do a few years invert all human relations! The liberal Pius of to-day is the object of undisguised alarm to bigoted Austria.

At length, as the result of all this opposition, a German Catholic Church narrowly escaped being formed by a congress of archbishops at Ems, whose resolutions declared that the Pope had no jurisdiction in Germany, that all bishops were equal, and that they had full power to exercise every spiritual function of the Church. But great offence was given to many German bishops by their exclusion from the invitation given to compose this congress. This, and other causes too complex for a passing notice, united with the consummate agitations of the Papal agents, defeated the most promising opportunity that the German Church has enjoyed. Yet resistance to Ultramontane influence was established as a per-

manent principle ; and the liberal wing have since even ventured to question the doctrine and discipline of Rome.

We next notice the prominent fact, that the Congress of Vienna discussed the feasibility of a German Catholic Church. This originated in the influence of no less a Catholic than Von Wessemberg, vicar-general of Constance. He wished to obtain a constitution, a fixed revenue, and a national primate, but under the "guaranty of a concordat with Rome." The Prussian minister proposed this basis to the Congress, and even drew up an article which he wished to introduce into the federal compact ; but the court of Rome succeeded by intrigue in postponing the whole question. And much which is matter of history may be briefly compressed into the statement, that the German lower clergy, who had silently recovered their old influence during the reaction and exhaustion which followed the Liberation war, steadily and clamorously opposed every popular demonstration of German princes or of liberal Catholics. So that the sudden outbreak of the Rongean movement, which only gave a new voice and front to the ancient dissatisfaction, found the Papal power again consolidated upon German soil, only to yield before a great popular demand in the bosom of its own communion.

The point that chiefly demands prominence is, that all these attempts, especially the last, are based upon the national German element. They embody the desire, now irresistible, for political and spiritual freedom. The religious element is inextricably mingled with the temporal, because the Church herself has always mingled them, and, by forcing obedience to a constitution whose abuses were sanctioned by religion, has driven the liberal party to demand both civil and religious freedom in the same breath. The question of mixed marriages clearly embraces these two elements. We must not, then, underrate the German Catholic movement, either on account of its popular character, or because its speakers combine appeals to patriotism with their theological dissent from Rome. It does not involve a purely religious question ; it cannot, because that from which it dissents is a spiritual establishment, guaranteed and supported by its political connections. Under cover of religious infallibility, it deeply affects the national prosperity. It is hostile to the most conservative side of the party of progress, because the existence of popular constitutions, and, above all, the consummation of

the long-cherished plan for German unity, would be fatal to Papal influence on German soil, and Ultramontanism would grow into disrepute as a sect, as soon as it lost its influence as a party. Its politico-ecclesiastical oppressions necessitate a twofold movement of dissent.

Some observers have been disgusted with the frequent appeals of Ronge and his coadjutors to the historical traditions of the German people, with their recapitulation, in exciting language, of the cases of successful resistance to Roman influence, and with their stirring allusions to the old spirit of the Liberation war. But it is an error to conclude thus hastily, that the movement presents chiefly a political and social aspect. It really does present the precise *qualification* of a purely religious movement that we might expect from the conditions which surround it. A purely religious movement is an impossibility in Germany, unless it start with a subscription to the authorized confessions. Any thing which changes the structure of established doctrine and discipline, any theological dissent from the bosom of whatsoever communion, interferes with the policy of the State; and it necessarily becomes a mixed movement, which seeks to remove the civil disabilities that await dissent. The purely theological movement of the Unitarians could not exist in Germany. This impossibility is proved by the suppression of the Friends of Light, who, with the exception of two or three more thorough Rationalists, embody the main position of American and English Unitarians. No reason can be assigned for the entire suppression of that movement, when the tremors of government could have been allayed by the suspension of those whom their own party only countenanced on the ground of freedom, except that in impinging upon the authorized confession it menaced necessarily the State. Their civil disabilities, therefore, are not removed; and these are such as we should consider extremely arbitrary and oppressive. The rights of social worship, and the propagation of their views by preaching, are forbidden. Their clergy cannot solemnize a marriage which shall be valid. They can neither form new parishes, nor can they hold their present ones, except by sufferance. How positive and successful a movement would Unitarianism have been, under such a system of profound exclusion? Can we wonder, then, that their preachers should criticize the State as freely as the Confession? It is no less a religious movement because it is obliged to be political in order to exist.

But this necessity is most striking in the case of the German Catholics. Their opponents have invoked the power of the law in every State, in order to extinguish the dissent. They had a right to do so, because Catholicism is an admitted confession, and therefore civil disabilities await the dissident. Is it, then, marvellous, or does it invalidate either the sincerity or the religion of the new movement, if its preachers attack that Ultramontane influence which strains every nerve to array the State against them, and which surrounds them with the traps of Papal intrigue? The whole political power of Rome in Germany is bent upon extinguishing the heresy. Therefore the heresy, as the very condition of its existence, to gain nothing but its fulcrum, must first oppose that power. And then, too, a candid observer will allow due weight to the intense effervescence of the present German crisis. Questions of surpassing importance for the future dignity and freedom of that country are agitating the public mind, with an earnestness which nothing among us has matched since the Revolution. Compared with it, our Antislavery agitation, we grieve to say, is still in unnoticeable infancy. These questions are, — Shall the German States construct a national unity? shall the people at last enjoy a representative and constitutional government? shall Russian influence cease on German soil? The German Catholic preachers may well be pardoned, if, sharing the national enthusiasm and pledged to a kindred movement of freedom, they utter the general hope, and round some of their periods with a political unction that we cannot help suspecting, because our relations to the State are so radically different. Notice, too, the fact, that free governments and a German unity of States are impracticable till the Ultramontane influence be destroyed, and the close ties which bind their movement to the general interest will be no longer unappreciated. It is one of the great providential movements of the time; apart from the character of any or all of its advocates, distinct from the precise calibre of creed they severally construct, it is a genuine embodiment of the great desire for religious and political freedom, qualified and tinged by its Catholic connection. If it is religious, it is so because conscience has been distorted and oppressed; if it is political, it is so because it cannot otherwise continue to be religious, and because it is vitally connected with the national movement, to be independent from which, its advocates must first expatriate themselves, and seek, like the ban-

ished Lutherans, a soil where a purely religious movement is not impracticable.

Then all discussions as to what Ronge denies, or how orthodox is Czerski, become insignificant. If they are disposed to fraternize with the Friends of Light, and to imitate the individualism which reigns in that Unitarian communion, it is to us only another sign of the genuineness of the dissent ; and it also suggests another characteristic which is shared by every one of Germany's legitimate movements in Church or State. It is a protest against the morally binding character of theology ; it is an attempt to express the moral indifference of all opinions which do not lawfully have a moral termination. It is a movement hostile to all confessions, so far as they are erected by human bigotry into moral and spiritual tests. Its motto might justly be, "Doing before believing." To this ultimate the whole current of German philosophical thought has tended. It has existed in the shape of scientific formulas, and has constituted the chief heresy of the literary club and the philosophical lecture-room. But it has now taken to itself a new and more practicable form, in these various popular agitations. The great scientific truth has worked its way downward to the masses, and they take courage to believe in *life* as distinct from the most astute and elaborate confession. And they thus lend to philosophy what she has long needed, the element of life. They make the half-audible heresy practicable and domestic. It is at last shown that there is an abyss between the scientific truths and the moral principles which the same intellect may believe in, but only the latter of which can be converted into life, while they acknowledge no relations with the former. If any confusion has ever existed on this point, it has resulted from the refusal to separate different kinds of truth, and to confine each to its province. Scientific truths may exist with respect to the nature of Christ ; but his practice, and the imitation of it, involve the distinct elements of moral truth. This essential question is now popularly discussed in Germany ; and it is a marked element of the great national renovation. There is a desire *to live*, in every sense ; a longing to put into practice all that has been practicable in German thought. The people will now engage in politics, from which they have been jealously excluded,—they will create constitutions that shall represent *themselves*, and not a bureaucracy, and that shall be adequate to protect their rights. They will have

freedom of the press, open courts, and trial by jury. They will have liberty, not only to believe philosophically, but to embody their belief, and also to extend their moral practice by extending their social relations and abilities. If we believe that a just God moulds all human agencies to their proper issue, and never extinguishes the faintest throb of life ; if we believe that men and races do not retrograde when they manifest life and motion, and that nothing but *inertia*, or a secession from the current of life, leads to barbarism ; and if we believe that a race, which was never yet recognized save in the portfolios of its ministers, the iron dogmatism of its confessions, and the hirsute formulas of its philosophies, must finally, by the force of nature, become a body replete with life, palpitating with nerves, ruddy with physical and mental health, — then we must believe that Germany is now on the eve of a regeneration no less radical and practical than this. All things subserve the providential design ; and religious dissent not the least notably of all, because ancient causes have implicated it with every movement of the national life. Only when furnished with this key can we enounce sober and definite opinions on the state of Germany, and do justice to her much abused religious movements.

A few words more with respect to the German Catholics in particular. An able correspondent of the *London Inquirer*, in a summary which corresponds entirely with our own impressions, writes as follows : — The object of the German Catholic leaders is

“the formation of a German National Church, upon the basis of the practical truths and principles of Christianity. To demonstrate practically the feasibility of such a union ; to exhibit on a small scale the machinery and organization by which such a union can be best effected and maintained ; to show, by observing perfect tolerance and charity among many diversities of opinion, and by conceding, through the medium of a free democratic constitution, the utmost possible liberty of action to the individual members and the separate congregations, that union upon such a basis is as practicable as it is desirable ; — this is now regarded as the ‘mission of the German Catholics.’”

To which we might add, that, in fact, their mission is more radical and extensive ; since, if it proves fatal to Ultramontane influence, it will prove beneficial to the cause of national regeneration.

All German authorities do not agree with us. The distinguished Professor Ullmann, of Heidelberg, a representative of orthodoxy according to the Rationalism of Schleiermacher, published a critique of the German Catholic movement, in which he gives melancholy expression to his doubts. He cannot see in it a sufficient religious vitality ; the movement is not *interior* enough to satisfy his quietism. He thinks that men need not reform their church, if they only reform themselves ; that simple liberty of conscience is not the highest condition of a religious life. He has a distaste for the external and popular character of the movement, and doubts whether it can have a positive result. In much of this, we may be permitted to say, can be discovered the judgment of the Platonizing theologian, whose point of view is exclusively doctrinal and spiritual. The tone is precisely analogous to that affected by such thinkers among us as desire to abolish certain peculiar institutions by sedulously forbearing to apply Christianity to them. May we not ask whether the German Catholics would not reform themselves more successfully after they had reformed their church ? since it is no less true that effete organizations impede growth, than that bad passions vitiate organizations. It is sheer folly to expect the reformation and cultivation of a soul which is lodged in a half-starved body, tapestried with rags. After the devils had gone out of the man, and he sat clothed and in his right mind, then it is probable he found coherence and supreme solace in the words of Jesus ; but the preaching even of the Son of Man would have been so much idle breath to the insane and wretched denizen of tombs. It seems to us that Professor Ullmann has failed to take cognizance of some important elements of this reform. We find a broader and more philosophical spirit in the enunciation of Professor Gervinus, a tolerant and sagacious historian, who doubts " the possibility of a new church, in which the dominion of religious interests alone and prominently should be extended, even among the greater portion of the people, because this would be contrary to the natural course of events, and an historical retrogression." We also sympathize with the remarks of Baltzer, a critic of the Halle Gazette, who states that true reform depends upon the central element of religion, but only as that is applied to every phase of collective national life, — art, science, polity, society. He thinks it is the mission of German Catholicism, indeed of all Protestantism, to make appli-

cation of religion, as the plastic reformatory element. We have already expressed our conviction that this is the national tendency at present, and that it accounts for the mixed character of the different movements.

But Professor Ullmann and all the mystics are alarmed by the choruses, the brass bands, and the banquets. There was great popular excitement in the time of Luther, and yet, when he visited a city, the windows along the quay were not crowded with fair women waving their spotless cambric, and showering his sturdy person with roses. Such demonstrations were dog-cheap upon the Rongean progress. There is a prejudice among us, also, against celebrating a religious movement with such popular enthusiasm. We never revel, except during Whig campaigns or in the halls of the Montezumas. Even the annual Unitarian Collation cannot strictly be styled a revel. So that this weakness of the Germans is timely capital for partisan pamphleteers. Religion and revelry alliterate sarcastically enough to serve the hostility of an Evangelical journal, but, like all sarcasms, it contains more spleen than justice. Let us transport ourselves into the place of these Germans. During the slavery of many a weary year, diplomacy, censorship, and the police have quenched all popular enthusiasm, and suppressed its demonstrations. It was once roused, and sedulously fomented, to crown the three days at Leipsic with victory; but that was to rescue ungrateful monarchies, not to liberate a long disappointed people. It is therefore an entirely new enjoyment for Germany, — these mass meetings, these fraternizing banquets, this speech-making and preaching at the street-corners and in the pleasure-groves. And the middle classes have acquired so much life and impulse, they are so full of hope and long pent-up energies, they found their enthusiasm upon so many definite political and religious demands, that the State for once has wisely yielded to the current, except in one or two cases of rash and murderous interference,* and has been

* The collision at Posen, July 29, 1845, is chargeable to Catholic intrigue. Czerski was advertised to preach in an Evangelical church; the Catholics took the alarm, and conspired to prevent his appeal to the people. With this object, they got up a great procession in honor of two Polish saints, contriving in the interim to irritate the populace against Czerski by inflammatory placards. The Prussian authorities gave out that freedom of worship should be sustained, by force if need were. On the day appointed, the procession deployed, and a collision soon took place, notwithstanding the presence of the troops, who were finally forced to fire upon the crowd.

content with sending its *gendarmes* to hover round the flanks of every popular gathering. Is it strange, then, that the German should enjoy, with the zest of an oft-baffled appetite, his liberty? We are so sated with the excitement of popular assemblies, that we cannot understand how the phlegmatic German should be so intoxicated with them. The German is no longer phlegmatic. He has finally concluded to demand certain rights and liberties, and the force of an earnest public opinion must prevail. His blood is up, and we may be assured that he will succumb only to the most arbitrary and forcible resistance. Nor, in the present temper of the people, would such a resistance be any wiser than the dogged opposition of Louis to the National Assembly. But, in the mean time, the Germans are enjoying the rare excitement of sympathizing and agitating in masses. Perhaps they sometimes spur the new hobby too furiously, and furnish the eminent impartiality of Pietism with matter for a quip or a paragraph. We can pardon considerable exuberance in a race of men who have formerly sinned through excess of torpid patience. Neither, at the worst, are banquets and processions *a priori* arguments against any cause.

The Friends of Light sin in the same pleasant manner. Professor Guericke, of Halle, who went to one of their banquets because Uhlich had attended a conference of his party, was considerably shocked at some blood-stirring choruses "in honor of the emancipated mind of Germany, and of 'our O'Connell.'" Whether the mild and spiritual Uhlich, whose "Confessions" recall the temper of our own Channing, be the counterpart of O'Connell or not, it is certain

Czerski, after having preached before an audience of six thousand persons, barely escaped alive from the infuriated populace. These scenes of violence procured the accession to the cause of a prominent Polish priest. The trouble at Leipsic arose in the protest of the Friends of Light against the Augsburg Confession. The Saxon Minister of Worship declared that it was his duty to enforce that Confession. The people heard this decision with lively dissatisfaction, and their irritation broke out, soon after, at a military review. A vast crowd gathered in front of the hotel, whither Prince John had retired to sup with the commandant of the municipal guard. Ominous chorals of Luther, and choruses from Schiller's Robbers, smote the ear with threatening emphasis. At length, a volley of stones shivered the front windows of the hotel; the Prince fled, the troops of the line approached, and an unexpected discharge, after the people had begun slowly to retire, killed nine and wounded thirty! Most of them were inoffensive citizens, whom curiosity had drawn to the spot. A post-office clerk was shot dead as he stood upon the sidewalk, with his betrothed leaning upon his arm.

that Germany never had any body before who could be likened, even in jest, to the Irish patriot. The large principles of liberty, so fearlessly yet so temperately advocated by Uhlich, his popular doctrine of the dissolution of Church and State as a condition of their religious existence, may have seduced the Tyrtæi of the movement into making that comparison. It is nothing to laugh at, but is rather a very significant sign of the times. Can this, or any other little popular caprice, rival, in painful absurdity and unchristian temper, the remark of an Evangelical critic upon the sudden death by apoplexy of König, a prominent Friend of Light? He says : — “ He is now gone where he will know whether the Bible was true or false, — Jesus Christ, God or man. To his own master he standeth or falleth. God grant that he may have repented before it was too late, and so find mercy of the Lord in that day ! ” *

Leaving these two movements for the present, we now offer a brief history of the formation of the Evangelical Church. The existence of two Confessions, as the result of the old Reformation, the Calvinist, or Reformed, and the Lutheran, is sufficiently well known ; the problem ever since has been to unite them. Even before the time of Leibnitz, this project was vaguely entertained by several German princes ; among others by John Sigismund, Charles Lewis of Baden, and by Frederic William, who was styled the Great Elector.

* The charge of radicalism is successfully rebutted by Uhlich, in his pamphlet, “ The Thrones in Heaven and on Earth.” He shows how the same charge has been brought against every movement, from the time of Christ, which has aimed at largeness of life and simplicity of belief. Society and politics become involved, implicitly at least, with every reassertion of moral principles ; the State always suspects every new expression of vitality. He shows that the Friends of Light wish to overthrow neither the State nor the Church, neither belief in the king nor in Christ. But he defines the Church to be, not the clerical class, but the whole congregation ; not our dead fathers, but God’s spirit in living bodies ; not an institution, but the simple community of living Christians, who can acknowledge no authority but that of the spirit. The national and liberal tendency of the pamphlet is apparent. We notice that the German Catholics are included in the Prussian Toleration Edict, issued last May ; the Friends of Light are excluded. If the newspapers are to be trusted, this edict tenders civic rights to certain dissenters. Ronge has sent one of the most popular preachers of his movement, named Dowiatt, to this country, in order to establish a branch of the German Church ; and a newspaper especially devoted to this reform has been just started in New York. A French observer, who heard Dowiatt and others speak at Canstatt, a little village near Stuttgart, seems to have been impressed with the genuine feeling of the audience more than with the felicity of the appeals.

In fact, there have always been two projects, — to unite the two Confessions, and also to effect a coalition between Catholicism and united Protestantism. As the German Catholic movement seemed to unite the Roman Church to the spirit of Protestantism, the latter scheme has again risen into a prominent object of desire and thought. Leibnitz first attempted it, and sought an earnest correspondence with Bossuet, hoping that something might grow out of a serious relation established with that great divine. But the policy of Rome has never stooped to conciliate, except while the Pontine marshes needed draining, or while French troops were annexing the treasures of the Vatican to the Louvre. Leibnitz recovered from his early dream, and advocated with enthusiasm the less formidable plan of Protestant unity. Its fortunes have been accommodated to the mood of the reigning power in Germany. Frederic William the First was not hostile to it; Frederic the Great and Voltaire probably amused themselves over a plan which clerical acrimony seemed to them for ever to adjourn; it was opposed by Frederic William the Second; and when forcibly consummated by Frederic William the Third, it was the most odious measure of his reign. We can best present this incident in the graphic summary of a French journalist, Taillandier. The coalition was not accomplished

“without grave difficulties and energetic resistance. On September 27, 1817, during the *fêtes* of the tri-centennial anniversary of the Reformation, the king published a proclamation inviting the two churches to fraternize. They obeyed, and assisted at a kind of amicable union made in a moment of enthusiasm. It now devolved upon government to give this union a regular character and a durable form. In 1822, a liturgy was digested; it was said to be for the court-service, and the government simply recommended it to the different parishes in the kingdom. But three years later, in 1825, it was imposed upon them, and since that time there has been but one church, which takes the name of the Evangelical Church. At that moment a new party was formed, very active and very resolute, the party of the Old Lutherans (*die Altlutheraner*). All those who remained attached, notwithstanding the official recommendations, to the old spirit of Luther, to the old Saxon religion, united and assumed a hostile attitude.”

Persecution could not intimidate them. They held a synod at Breslau, in 1835; —

"Thus braving the temporal authority, and declaring that nothing could tear them from their faith. When the persecution became too galling, they went into exile; whole communities, men, women, children, with the pastor at their head, emigrated to North America. And they had not only the appearance of liberty, but strict right on their side. The seventh article of the Treaty of Westphalia,* and the sixteenth article of the Federal Diet,† guaranty to them the free exercise of their worship; it is not they who separate from the national faith, — the dissidents, the sectaries, are the founders of the Evangelical Church."

This union, then, is embarrassed with numerous difficulties. The points of difference between the Augsburg, or Lutheran, and the Calvinistic Confession have neither been surrendered nor merged in a third product; though there has been a concession with respect to the Lord's Supper, which renders its administration uniform. The number of Old Lutherans is not rated above eight thousand, but many vigorous writers espouse their cause.

Hengstenberg appears to be the acknowledged head of the Prussian Church, and his "*Evangelical Church Gazette*" is its organ. Under his manipulations, aided by royal sympathy with Pietism, it has become the ultra-conservative influence of the realm. Nothing has the good fortune to gain its countenance. One would think that the Rongean movement would have been hailed from this orthodox quarter with enthusiasm; for one scarlet abomination in Berlin cannot brook another in Rome. Opposition to Ultramontane influence, too, ought to be its natural and necessary policy. Its forms of worship, notwithstanding a little dabbling of late with Puseyism, are meagre and unattractive; therefore the splendor of high mass, and the altar-pieces which marry art to religion, that the worshipper may be persuaded to devotion, ought to be offensive to the Puritans of Prussia. But no; Ronge has violated their historical sensibilities; he has not intelligence enough to comprehend the majesty of that sacred establishment, which has been the slow accretion of ages; he has appealed to low motives against pilgrimages and relics; he has substituted in their place banquets and processions. Yet all this tender reverence for old clothes does not secure the sup-

* Concluded in 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' war. The princes were pledged to persecute no one for difference of opinion.

† The Germanic Confederation, formed June 8, 1815, just before the fall of Napoleon. It insured the legal equality of all religious denominations.

port of the Church Gazette for Jewish emancipation. It never forgets who threw the first Christian garment into hands which made it an article of traffic. Strange to say, on this point Pietism and infidelity find common ground; for while the vagabondism of the Jews' quarter is shocking to the taste of Hengstenberg, the philosophy of Bruno Bauer revolts at the attempt to amalgamate a race so impracticable with modern institutions. Bauer does not sympathize with the present rage for *rococo*, which mixes periods and styles. While the orthodox primate is willing to let the wrath of God exhaust itself upon the chosen people, and would not for a moment be thought to interfere with their providential destiny, the fugleman of atheism cannot permit the cause of pure democracy to be hampered by the accession to civil privileges of the people who still believe in a theocracy, but in nothing else. The vulgar intolerance of the former finds its parallel only in the colorphobist of New England; the native Germanism of the latter can be matched also by our latest form of national exclusion. With different feelings, both agree that the children's teeth are set on edge by the fathers' folly.*

A temporary distraction has occurred in the Evangelical Church, stimulated by a general disgust at its intolerance, and particularly by its denunciations of the Friends of Light.

* The great question of Jewish emancipation demands a separate article. The cause is powerfully sustained by the liberal parties in Germany, and many important concessions have already taken place. The Jews also make unexpected advances, and remit their obstinate resistance to prevalent ideas. In some places their Sabbath has been made to coincide with Sunday; in others, government has abolished the Jews' Quarter, — an important movement, the prejudice against which has a faint parallel in our reluctance to abolish the Free Pews. The American negro and the German Jew are corresponding objects of civilized reserve. The Catholics are particularly violent upon this question. They commenced what may be styled a pro-slavery agitation in the Duchy of Baden, in 1842; but the government gave unequivocal proofs of its intentions, by immediately raising Gustavus Weil, author of a Life of Mahomet, to a professorial chair at Heidelberg. The question regularly divides the representative chamber of that Duchy. In 1845, the Wurtemberg Chamber voted an augmentation of the budget for Jewish worship, and solicited the entire emancipation of the Jews. A German Year-book for 1842-43 gives the names of nine Jewish professors of eminence in Germany. The literature, philosophy, and science of that country are deeply indebted to them. They fraternize with the German Catholics, and that is an important agitation for them, because its basis is the civil, moral, and spiritual indifference of theology. Nearly a million of Jews await their recognition of equality with the other Communions. Our limits compel us to leave the whole question with this note.

The moderate party content themselves with simply protesting ; but it seems that they gained a decisive victory upon several disputed points, at the general Synod of Brandenburg. The Pietist division came prepared with some extreme propositions, desiring to force the character, and establish the basis, of the meeting. They related chiefly to discipline in affairs of conscience ; but the moderate Rationalists, or the democratic wing, rejected them all by a considerable majority. Then the Pietists demanded the excommunication of the Friends of Light ; but a resolution was offered which maintained that the new sect was the legitimate result of the Church's intolerance and dogged reproduction of feudal reminiscences, and that a *reformed* church need not oppose dissent by any measures of violence. The results of the Synod were a severe blow to Pietistic influence in Prussia, which all the sympathy of Frederic William, so continually disturbed by his liberal impulses, cannot again erect into an active and predominating element. The common sense of the people revolts at this disguised Catholicism ; and the famous address of the magistrates of Berlin to the king, in which they denounced the very party he was inclined at intervals to favor, was a significant token of the general sentiment. The answer of the monarch, which was a curious affectation of popular liberality, entirely neutralized by a strong undertow of prerogative, provoked a reply. Were not Prussia really democratic, we should not have the singular spectacle of a descendant of Frederic exchanging theological passes with his subjects. But the present king has a weakness for making speeches, and, being by nature ardent and impulsive, he has sometimes excited hopes which he has failed to satisfy. He was present at Cologne, to lay the corner-stone at the commencement of the restoration of the cathedral, and the enthusiasm of the people was immense to see a king flourishing a trowel, and to hear the most magnificent promises of future liberty and toleration, — promises which lent a stability to the party he has since so grievously disappointed. A speech by Metternich would have been equally effective, with the advantage to the speaker of the comfortable after-thought that nothing had been promised.

Just before this demonstration of the Berlin magistracy, the liberal party in the Evangelical Church published a document, which is styled " The Declaration of the Fifteenth of August " (1845), signed by eighty-six persons, all of whom

were professors, preachers, or consistorial counsellors, with two of the titular bishops, created by the king, at their head. This was a protest against Pietism, precipitated by the unjust oppression of the Friends of Light. After denouncing that influence, they proceed to define their theological position; and though they make delicate distinctions between their own and all other parties, it is plain that it coincides with the average sentiment of the Friends of Light, — so much so, that the protest was signed with enthusiasm by numerous members of that dissent, commencing with the honored name of Uhlich. The simple formula, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," which is made to mean every thing or nothing, as one pleases, was accepted freely, and every variety of conviction seemed to long for liberty to rest undisturbed beneath it. Not so, however; the *Argus* of the Church Gazette detected the cloven foot of Rationalism underneath the decent attire of this Declaration. The attack was vigorously sounded, and clouds of envenomed pamphlets darkened the air. Who carries away the palm in this conflict of spleens is an unimportant question; for though the Church Gazette never surrenders, yet the Declaration cannot be repealed, for it expresses, we think, the fast predominating sentiment of Prussia, and therefore of all Germany.*

The existence of Pietism is an example of a purely religious movement taking place within the limits of the old Confession. It questioned no point of doctrine, but was content with throwing a new element of life into the old and tottering organization. Therefore it was not a sect or a body, but simply an influence in the Church, represented by different

* The pamphlet by Grossmann, mentioned at the head of this article, embodies the opinions of the moderate party. It asserts the necessity of reform in the Evangelical Church, and indicates the liberal bias of the popular mind. It then proceeds to define three things, essential to the future welfare of the Church: — 1. A livelier sympathy among its members. To this end the liberal pressure from without is seasonable. 2. More simple and refined forms of doctrine and discipline. He clings to the general formula of the Declaration, and says, — "Well for us, if we can erect a Confession of Faith which shall correspond to every grade of belief in the congregation and its members, which, like the Lord's prayer, shall afford equal attraction and consolation to the simplicity of the humblest and the thought of the profoundest, which shall represent the mean of order and freedom." 3. A constitutional enlargement, which shall grant the Church powers independent of the State, whose slave she has hitherto been; but without entirely severing the bond. The sermon closes with exhortations to admit and confirm the liberal spirit of the age. Grossmann is First Professor of Theology and Superintendent at Leipsic.

men according to their temperaments, and varying in intensity over the whole surface, without declaring any definite boundaries. It was the profound azure of the sky diminishing into the dull gray of the horizon. It has ceased to perform its legitimate mission as the regenerative element in the Lutheran Church, because it has declined into an invincible dogmatism; and it manifests, through all the present troubles, a most unsanctified temper. Should it secede now and become a sect, it could not reveal any more plainly than it does at present, that it has ceased to have a healthy influence, and ought to be banished for its sins to the limbo of exploded systems and worn-out energies. It has disappointed the promise of its childhood, and has exhausted, like the generous youth who sinks into the testy and irreclaimable debauchee, the most capacious and elastic constitution. For when Pietism first arose, in the days of the devout and enthusiastic Spener, it was a healthy protest against the formality and deadness of the churches. It was a natural revival of the religious energies of Germany, oppressed by meagre and dogmatic preaching, and by narrow interpretations both of Scripture and of the Confession. Still later it became the natural foil of the pure understanding, whose systems of philosophy were an analysis of one mental element, instead of a warm and living generalization of all; it soon, then, brought healthy relief to the austere Hebræo-Stoicism of Kant. It was always devout and spiritual, though it may have been sometimes vulgar, and often mystical. It was a German translation of French Quietism and of English Methodism; it sometimes manifested the impracticable reveries of the former, and sometimes the mad excitements of the latter. It was laughed at, opposed, and persecuted; therefore it gained a vigorous life, because the pressure from without confirmed its resolution, while it slowly eliminated its excrescences. It has always been the ready antagonist of every phase of German thought which too boldly rationalized or too flatly contradicted the Confession. It has instinctively opposed, in turn, the dry textualism of worthy country parsons, the meagre naturalism of Paulus, the indifference of the literary clique, the idealism of Hegel, and, lastly, the mythology of Strauss; but with poorer success at every crisis, because it has gradually resigned its original principle of spiritual life, and taken to dogmatism, which is dotage. Its tender piety, its healthy mysticism, its active charity, have

failed to permeate the body of the Church, and are confined to a few who represent that religious life which is the possible companion of every belief, but who still cling to the delusion that it is the organic result of one only saving Confession. For this reason the Pietists have resolutely repelled the spirit of the age, which seems to them synonymous with atheism and inward dissolution. They cannot understand the pure Idea of Hegel, they wilfully misrepresent the tone of a healthy Rationalism, they with difficulty award the praise of scientific integrity to Strauss. The natural tendency of the unbalanced religious element to isolation, which in the case of their predecessors provoked a king to charge them with wishing to have a country besides Germany, has culminated in their present position. They are like the state-convict who was imprisoned in the dreadful cell which admitted of no enlargement, but which daily diminished till it stifled him. The Pietists are no longer fit to criticize, because their forefingers seem bigger than the universe whose light they intercept. They are still less fit to revivify, because a true life has already begun to exist beyond their circle, which they in turn must incorporate with their own exhausted system, or else pay the penalty which waits upon resistance to the laws of nature. A blind, traditional hostility to Rationalism, which is propagated like a Highland feud, and kept up with the implacability of a Corsican *vendetta*, cannot lend a vital influence to the most religious set of men; neither can the panic created by the brilliant surprise of Strauss, whose keen and sustained onset has pierced their centre, become a permanent element to reconstruct their shattered fortunes. The very panic illustrates the dotage of their faith. In vain are the tender piety of Tholuck, the indomitable nerve of Hengstenberg, the scientific liberality of Neander; nothing can save the Evangelical Church from its unwilling renovation by the influx of a free and healthy inquiry; the finest gifts cannot much longer sanctify the feudal union of the Church and State; the most impassioned appeals cannot decide the awakened people in favor of a new Ultramontanism, which clumsily tricks out its skeleton harshness with the faded trumpery of Rome. Pietism has compromised its position and its hopes, because it cannot see that dissent is pious, that the popular will has grown vital and earnest, and that the very element of life, which lent all the sincerity to their ancient protest, encumbered with doctrine as it was,

has passed into new hands, that wisely subordinate the accidental to the real. If Pietism has ever really been devout, if it has ever attempted to reduce to life whatsoever things are honest and of good report, if it has ever been graced by profound scholarship or enlivened by ready eloquence, it has so far affected and moulded the national spirit, and thus prepared it, with other influences, to discharge with dignity and resolution the duties of the present crisis. But when a church opposes, with fatuous zeal, the reforms which legitimately result from her own principles, she becomes simply despicable ; and the memory of her services is long effaced by the sense of her treachery. It is a shameful sight, when that which was the child of progress refuses to be the parent of reform. Pietism has become a sect, Puritan in its doctrine, Puseyite in its ceremonial, Papal in its spirit ; and no degenerate sect is ever content to expire when its functions have ceased to exist.*

After this attempt to define the present position of the sects and movements upon German soil, our attention is attracted by the constitutional question in Prussia. Representative chambers exist in the other States of Germany, according to the provisions of the Confederation in 1815. But their power is constantly limited by the influence of the courts and by the preponderating presence of salaried functionaries. There are more freedom and bold assertion of popular rights in Wurtemberg and Baden than elsewhere,

* The horror of Rationalism entertained by the Pietists of the Evangelical Church is fairly shown to be either foolish or knavish, in the pamphlet entitled "Addresses before Protestant Friends," where one of the speakers proves that the Pietists rationalize as deliberately as themselves. His position is, that the Evangelical theology, with its logical harmony and consecutiveness, its adroit adaptation of all Bible texts to the given theory, and its reconciliation of all discrepancies, arose from the need of satisfying the understanding. We call to mind, that, when Schelling was invited to Berlin, to play the part of makeweight against Hegelianism, he made his philosophy orthodox and his orthodoxy philosophical simply by satisfying the understanding that there was no discrepancy between them. The theory of the Potencies was translated into the dogmatic scheme of orthodoxy, and that back again into Potencies, till all good Christians were dazzled with the nimbleness and delighted with the result. There was nothing now to fear, since Christianity had been identified with philosophy, by the man who said that "the true living God should be brought into the freed consciousness, and not a false idol, be its name ever so splendid, be it called Reason or whatever else," and who, in making the attempt, performed the boldest feat of Rationalism in that winter semester. But he who reconciles orthodoxy with the natural order of the universe is not called a Rationalist at Berlin ; only he who, like Uhlich, shows that they are irreconcilable.

and the reigning influence has been unexpectedly resisted on several important questions ; still, the representative tether is extremely short. The success of the popular party in all the minor States of Germany depends upon its success in Prussia, which has of late given the key-note to the Confederation in all matters of prominence. It is sufficient, then, to examine the growth and prospects of the constitutional party in that State. Its success involves that of every effort for moral and religious freedom, because, when the people succeed in representing themselves, they will soon legitimate and confirm the liberal tendencies within the Church ; for it will be easy to refuse the king a grant for railways, if he refuses to acknowledge the dissents which will be freely represented by the members of a popular chamber.

There can be no such thing as a constitutional monarchy, that is, a government in which the royal will is the balance-wheel of the popular action, except in a country which has not yet bridged over the chasm between the throne and the tribune. There is such a thing as a constitution, and such a thing as a monarchy ; but constitutional monarchy on the continent of Europe is only a convenient phrase to designate the transition-state, when the king is still occupied in resisting the people and saving something from the wrecks of his prerogative, and when the people do not yet feel that their liberties are secure. Kings never surrender their divine right except upon compulsion, and the people whose reverie is of freedom are never content with partial concessions, which only enhance the value of the privileges that are withheld. A king who shall be the conservative power and the balance-wheel of the state is a pleasant fiction of the monarchists. The constitution always usurps the sceptre, and the balance is adjusted by nature herself more successfully than by a king who is fed and lodged by his commons. Happy is that country whose people effect this perilous transition by the bloodless victories of the pen, and who silently absorb the monarch's prerogative, as the greater body discharges the magnetism of the less. Such is the political condition of Prussia. The constitutional element is encroaching rapidly upon the monarch's prerogatives, who resists with vigor, yet not with bigoted obstinacy ; the people enumerate their rights with a sustained and manly firmness, yet without violence. Neither party will precipitate the commission of the first outrage ; so that if this temper is preserved, if the mon-

arch never makes a too tardy concession, and if the people never make a too greedy demand, we shall see the fair fabric of a constitution cemented without the blood and tears of its builders. Prussia profits by the experience of France, and imitates the healthy development of England ; yet what an experiment of uninterrupted peril ! Goethe has not underrated the problem, when he says, — “ The highest intelligence of a government consists in so moderating this conflict as to throw itself into one position without the ruin of the opposite. But this is not in the gift of man, and does not appear to be in the intention of God.”

We are not disposed to question the sagacity which has presided over the gradual introduction of Prussians to a participation in the government. The popular will has always been much in advance of the legislation designed to satisfy it, and the impatience of the selfish demagogue has more than once supplied a bureaucracy with arguments hostile to free government ; yet the Prussian monarchs have always seemed to take for granted the distant concession of a constitution, and to have slowly educated the people to an equality with the privilege. In all the Prussian provinces, Chambers have been for some time constituted, with a limited power in matters of taxation, but continually kept in check by the preponderating influence of the nobles. Still, their establishment was a great concession, preparing the people for the final gift of a national chamber. We must remember that hereditary servitude was not abolished in Prussia till 1807, nor was the abolition extended over the later dependencies of the monarchy till 1819. But the gift of a free constitution was the subject of explicit promise as early as 1815. The suspicion cannot be discharged, that the delays which have intervened since then, if prompted by paternal caution, have been confirmed by eminently royal reasons. The Prussian ministers have generally been more democratic than the kings. Hardenberg's Memoir was sealed up by the father of the present monarch, and forbidden to be published till 1850 ; for the prime-minister had always been the firm adherent of those popular principles which are destined to detrude every remain of feudalism.

At the accession of the present king, in 1840, the popular hopes revived upon the constant nourishment afforded by the royal speeches to which we have alluded. In popular assemblies and before delegated magistracies, the king recall-

ed with enthusiasm the national traditions of the Liberation war, and the promises of 1815. And yet, the anticlimax was the prominent felicity of these harangues ; if he commenced with a downright and hearty promise of a constitution, the idea conveyed would become beautifully less, till it emerged somewhat in this form, — “ a constitution and a chamber ; the former, indeed, grafted upon our old traditions, the latter not implying a general representation. All these developments must secure the interests of every estate, without compromising rashly those of any one.” If this came to be understood in the sense of a preliminary measure, soon to usher in the full-blown constitution, a ministerial circular, issued shortly after, would gravely dictate the proper interpretation, with apostrophic wonder that any thing so clear should be misconceived. After one or two severe disappointments of this nature, borne with considerable phlegm, the constitutional party became aggressive, and a hundred pens began to grumble within the limits prescribed by censordom. Poets wrote epigrams and trenchant satire, but the authors soon became implicated with the *fugitive* character of their effusions. Several still languish in the retirement prescribed for this surfeit of patriotism. In Prussia, a good deal of radicalism will pass, if it is only said in quarto, with a grave, systematic, and deprecatory manner ; but when the constitutional party begin to banter in pamphlets, and to charge their light boomerangs with irritating lampoons or testy verses, the royal tergiversator recalls the humor of his promises, but cannot take a fair jest in return.

In 1841, a decree was issued, the substance of which is as follows : — it authorized the publication of the provincial debates, but without the names of the speakers, — it allowed the Chambers to meet more frequently, — and, the most important concession of all, it established a national Diet, to be formed by a certain number of deputies from each provincial chamber, to sit at Berlin. But the functions of this Diet bear a ludicrous disproportion to its size and gravity ; for it is only empowered to settle the clashing interests and propositions of the Chambers, and to be consulted by the king with respect to the general budget, but with the expectation that it shall be voted. This decree, when submitted to the provincial chambers, met with a lively opposition. They saw nothing in its propositions but a fantastic parody of their hopes, and many towns, through their magistracies, told the

king plainly that the decree did not satisfy the royal promises. The subject was debated for more than a year, with a vivacity unwonted in the annals of monarchy ; but finally, all amendments having been rejected, the decree became the law of the land, by a royal ordinance, dated June 21, 1842. It is said that the king, being rather hard pressed by the unsparing critiques upon his decree, and surprised at the opposition, declared that the promise of his father in 1815 was not binding upon him ; and thus vanish the harangues at Cologne and Königsberg. The extension of the area of freedom may be described in the following formula :— the people have the honor and liberty, through their representatives, of coinciding with the king.

“ *Pet.* I say it is the moon.

Kath. I know it is the moon.

Pet. Nay, then you lie ; it is the blessed sun.

Kath. Then, God be blessed, it is the blessed sun.—

But sun it is not, when you say it is not.”

Nothing was wanting but this temporary suspension of the popular cause, to give the republican party a definite purpose and tangible dimensions. Till now it was ignorant of its own capacities, and feared to assume a decisive tone in speaking of its expectations, lest it might be unsupported either by the numbers or position of its adherents. But it suddenly finds itself a formidable influence, the third estate of the realm, recruited from all ranks, and composed of most discordant views and interests, yet harmonizing intelligibly enough upon the general question. Three parties are now struggling to obtain the mastery of the political field. First come the monarchists, part of whom are wise and part are foolish. The wise oppose the constitutional party, by tracing historically the quiet infusion of liberal ideas into the Prussian government, under the tutelage of its kings, who are said to have adapted the monarchical principle to the spirit of each age ; the foolish monarchists write superannuated pamphlets about the divine right and the paternal capacity of the monarch. Occupying their antipodes is the radical party, who talk equally impracticable matter about the divine right of the individual and the great idea of absolute radicalism. It includes the communism of Weitling and Becker, who wish “ to destroy every thing in order to reconstruct every thing upon new bases ; manners, states and worships, languages, laws and na-

tionalties, — none of these should remain, for they are virtually barriers which separate people destined for universal unity." It also includes the politico-religious reveries of Bruno Bauer, who represents the American idea with a difference ; he holds the truth to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, Jews being excepted. If we understand Bruno Bauer, he finds the existence of a God inconsistent with this doctrine of universal equality, and it is wonderful with what ease he can dispense with one.

Between these two extremes fluctuates the legitimate constitutional party, with limits still unsettled, and whose prominent writers do not always advocate the same scheme. Constitutionalism displays a penumbra, which is modified monarchism, held by those who dread lest the popular will should suddenly and entirely absorb the royal prerogative. But the real strength of the party resides, of course, with those who hold moderate but definite and earnest views, who desire to give to Germany nationality and unity, already rendered practicable by the establishment of the Customs-Union.* They support a rational reform in judicature, demanding "the publicity of tribunals, the independence of the judiciary, the liberty of defence." They argue for the practicability of a wider basis of representation, and for a constitution whose articles shall be something more than an expression, in less degrading terms, relieved only by a show of liberty, of the people's old dependence. This party will prevail ; but the acts and spirit of the Diet, which held its first sitting in April last, have caused many calm observers to doubt whether the revolution can be an altogether peaceful one. The members could not refuse to vote the general budget, but they denied the king a grant for a railroad. If such popular stratagems were unaccompanied by a feeling of embittered hostility toward the king, they might procure a gradual extension of privileges ; above all, the members might secure an act of general toleration, involving the civil equality of all dissents. Nor would it be long before a modified union of the State and Church would express the average liberality of the popular sentiment. The pure voluntary principle is not in vogue with the moderate party, though the

* The Zollverein extends over the whole of Germany, with the exception of the Austrian provinces, Hanover, the two Mecklenbergs, and the three free cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck. It has already materially increased the commerce and activity of the associated countries.

precise relation which the State shall hold to the Church is not yet defined by them. They like the idea that parishes shall choose their own clergy ; also that the government shall appoint no fixed standard and patronize no special symbol ; the clergy shall be free to choose their faith. And Gervinus says, the State " should rather seek to find its uniting power in an ideal patriotic bond, than in a material ecclesiastical one ; it should leave the freest possible play-room to parishes and synods, which must undoubtedly be conducted according to the form proposed by the German Catholic Church. The State would have no other office than that of *moderating*."

But the royal patriotism has not been strong enough to prompt an adequate concession ; therefore the people chafe within their limits, and it is doubted whether the present irritation can be quietly reduced.* We notice that during the past year two or three questions of great interest have diverted the popular attention from the points at issue, and consequently from their religious results, which we have briefly designated. These distracting questions relate to the pretensions of Denmark to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and to Russian influence in Germany, but especially in the Duchy of Posen. The latter question involves a prominent interest. Germany has grown too liberal to relish the despotic temper of her ancient ally, who is no longer of any service to her ; and " Russomania " will retire before the increasing sentiment of nationality which inspires the prosperous middle class of Germany. The Polish proprietors of the soil in Posen are disposed to favor Russian interfer-

* But Mr. Wheaton, who is certainly an adequate observer, says, in his recent address upon " The Progress and Prospects of Germany," — " The powers granted to this assembly by the crown were consultative merely, except in the single case of a proposed augmentation of the taxes, or the public debt of the kingdom, in which case it was to have an absolute negative upon the royal propositions. The manner in which these powers were exercised in the discussions of the assembly is, upon the whole, highly favorable to the ultimate success of the experiment." Upon the whole it may be ; yet it is proper to notice the present irritation and its causes. In pursuing his subject, Mr. Wheaton says of the German governments : — " We must not be surprised, if they still hesitate and falter in their course, and if their counsels are still too often inspired by the blind dread of innovation, rather than by that confidence which the German people well merit by their integrity of purpose, moderation, and patient forbearance." Besides other things, Mr. Wheaton's pamphlet, which we have read with much pleasure, has the merit of showing the value of the Customs-Union as the basis of German unity, freedom, and progress.

ence, hoping thereby to preserve their authority over their boors, to whom Prussia would proffer independence. The spirit of caste among a few Polish nobles cannot, however, secure permanence to Russian influence in Germany. And soon we shall see the people return with new interest to the absorbing questions which involve their future welfare. The commercial bond which unites them has developed their slumbering energies, and has given them a taste of the genial freedom of an active life. Their new prosperity will increase both their importance and their capacity for self-help; this alone would secure an extension of their liberties in every sphere. But when the age is big with impulses which conspire with the master-spring of interest to renovate their exhausted and abstracted life, to turn their moods into deeds and their formulas into feelings, to temper their reveries with the sober alloy of practical concerns, we need not hesitate to predict a growth the most flourishing and healthy, and a many-sided expression of life which even the "myriad-minded" sons of Germany have been unable to enjoy. She is destined to annex the empire of the land to her hereditary empire of the air.

The connection of the constitutional with the religious question is now apparent. Material interest creates an activity which is not content with residing in the old body, and working feebly through organs whose development has been arrested. Spiritual interests are harassed and discountenanced by the identity of Church and State. Political and social impulses remain unsatisfied in a system which prevents them from springing to their appropriate level. The desire for life is the simple element which manifests itself in all these forms, and is heard by turns on the exchange, in the tribune, and from the pulpit. Had not the State, long ago, with a jealous wish to absorb all sources of interest and power, complicated all popular relations with its unitary system, then every movement of the present hour would not of necessity be organized from such various elements. And it is worthy of notice how entire and exhaustive are the evolutions of the German life; the progress usurps the whole surface and takes up every floating filament. Each movement is a complement of all the others, and the State is called upon to restore at once the sum total of its manifold embezzlements of the popular life, so long suffered with impunity.

What Germany needs, to dissipate her vapors, to consoli-

date her thought and direct it to its sensible issues, is simply this, — something *for the individual* to do. When *work*, in all the provinces of human activity, has been apportioned to the German citizen, and he feels the sense of clearness and elastic independence which interest in work secures, — when *doing* becomes the copula of the subjective and the objective, — when the old Teuton vigor drives the modern Pegasus afield, and the share dislodges the tangled undergrowth, — when the German appends the *improvement* to his long homily of philosophy, — then will be vindicated the honest and hopeful old proverb used by Goethe, — “What man wishes in youth he has to fulness in old age.” J. W-S.

ART. VII. — TORREY'S TRANSLATION OF NEANDER.*

A NEW translation of Neander's “History of the Christian Religion and Church” has appeared, by Professor Torrey of Burlington. The translator has long been engaged on the work, but was anticipated in publication by Mr. Rose, of whose volumes some notice has been taken in former numbers of this journal.† The obscurities and deficiencies of the latter translation have induced Professor Torrey not to withhold his own; and although the present volume extends only over the same ground covered by Mr. Rose, a continuation is soon to appear, and is delayed only that it may be revised by comparison with the second edition recently published in Germany.

This translation is remarkably faithful and accurate. The translator, having a profound respect for his author, makes it a point always to convey his meaning exactly, even to the minutest expression. This is certainly a great virtue. It has caused him, however, to retain the unwieldiness of Neander's style, and has given some obscurity and diffuseness to

* *General History of the Christian Religion and Church: from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the Second and Improved Edition.* By JOSEPH TORREY, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Volume First: comprising the First Great Division of the History. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 740.

† Christian Examiner for March, 1832, for January, 1844, and September, 1845.

the book, which will make it less attractive and readable. We do not know how this could have been well avoided. If a translator were at liberty to curtail, to simplify, and to comment, a book might be made much more lucid and interesting ; but such freedom is questionable, and Professor Torrey, it seems, though well qualified to exercise it with discretion, was not willing to assume the responsibility. We regret to find how much is necessarily lost in clearness and fluency, by transferring the thoughts of the writer into a language where they are not native, and where philosophy and theology have moved in a different direction. In every translation there are errors resulting from oversight or misconception. But in Professor Torrey's we have noticed but few, and they are not of much importance.

We offer our readers some extracts, which will serve both as specimens of the translation, and as examples of the manner and tone of the original History.

First, from the history of the persecutions : —

“ It was certainly the design of the emperor [Decius Trajan] to suppress Christianity entirely. In the year 250, he ordered rigorous search to be made for all suspected of refusing compliance with the national worship, and the Christians were to be required to conform to the ceremonies of the Roman religion. In case they declined, threats, and afterwards tortures, were to be employed to compel submission. If they remained firm, it was resolved to inflict, particularly on the bishops, whom the emperor hated most bitterly, the punishment of death. There was a disposition, however, to try first the effect of commands, threats, persuasions, and the milder forms of chastisement. By degrees, recourse was had to more violent measures ; and gradually the persecution extended from the capital of the empire — where the presence of an emperor known to be hostile to the Christians made it the most severe at the beginning — into the provinces. Wherever the imperial edict was carried into execution, the first step was publicly to appoint a day against which all the Christians of a place were to present themselves before the magistrate, renounce their religion, and offer at the altar. In the case of those who before the end of the time fled their country, nothing further was done ; except that their goods were confiscated, and themselves forbidden to return under penalty of death. But if they were unwilling to make so immediate a sacrifice of their earthly goods for the heavenly treasure, if they waited in the expectation that some expedient might perhaps yet be found whereby both could be retained, then, unless they had volun-

tarily presented themselves by the day appointed, the examination was commenced before the magistrate, assisted by five of the principal citizens. After repeated tortures, those who remained firm were cast into prison, where the additional sufferings of hunger and thirst were employed to overcome their resolution. The extreme penalty of death appears to have been resorted to less frequently." — p. 131.

It was, according to Neander, in the year 259 that the Christian Church was recognized as a legally existing corporation.

"By the law of Gallienus an essential change, prolific of consequences, would necessarily be produced in the situation of the Christians. The important step, at which many an emperor, still more favorably disposed to Christianity than Gallienus, had hesitated, was now taken. Christianity was become a *religio licita*; and the religious party that threatened destruction to the old state religion, and all the institutions connected with it, had now for once attained a legal existence. Many a prince, who at an earlier period, in accordance with the existing laws, would have had no scruples in persecuting the Christians, would now doubtless be shy of attacking a corporation once established by law." — p. 141.

The outward history of the Church is graphically given, and elucidated with a learning to which we are not accustomed in the expositions of this subject. But it is when treating of its interior development that the writer finds himself most at home. Of its earliest constitution he thus remarks :—

"The essence of the Christian community rested on this : that no one individual should be the chosen, preëminent organ of the Holy Spirit for the guidance of the whole ; but all were to coöperate — each at his particular position, and with the gifts bestowed on him, one supplying what might be wanted by another — for the advancement of the Christian life and of the common end. In this view of it, the New Testament idea of the *charisma* becomes important ; the charisma, by which is designated the individuality and diversity in the operations of the Spirit that quickens all, as contradistinguished from that which in all is the same ; the *peculiar* kind and manner or form of the activity of that common principle, so far as it is conditioned by the peculiar natural characteristics of each individual. Just as the unity of that higher Spirit must reveal itself in the manifoldness of the charismata, so must all these peculiarities, quickened by the same Spirit, serve as organs, mutually helping each other for one common end,

the edification of the Church. We understand edification here, according to the general and original sense of the term in the writings of St. Paul, as referring to the advancement and development, from its common ground, of the entire life of the Church-community. The edification of the Church, in this sense, was the common work of all. Even edification by the word was not assigned exclusively to one individual ; but every man who felt the inward call to it might give utterance to the word in the assembled Church. Referring to the same end, there were likewise different gifts, grounded in the diversity of peculiar natures, quickened by the Holy Spirit ; according as, for example, the productive (prophecy), or the receptive (interpretation, the *διεργηρία*), or the critical faculty (proving of spirits), — according as the capacity for feeling and intuition, or that of sober reflective thought, predominated ; according as the Divine, in its overwhelming force, had the preponderance, and the Human, in its independent development, gave place to it, or a harmonious coöperation of both the Divine and the Human prevailed ; according as the momentaneous and sudden seizure of inspiration had the ascendancy, or what was contained in the Christian consciousness became unfolded through a process of thought quickened by the Holy Spirit (where again there were manifold gradations, from an ecstatic elevation of mind down to the uniform, discreet, and cautious unfolding of the understanding, speaking with tongues, prophecy, the ordinary gift of teaching) ; in fine, according as the prevailing tendency was to the theoretical or to the practical (the *Gnosis* or the *Sophia*).” — p. 181.

In describing the heretical tendencies of sects, Neander makes two great divisions, according as they received the impress of the Jewish or of the Grecian mind.

“The first of these spiritual tendencies cleaves to the temporal, earthly form of manifestation alone, without divining the higher spirit which it embodies and conceals ; the other disdains that temporal form of manifestation, which is the necessary medium for the appropriation of the spirit, and would have the spirit without this medium. The one sticks fast by the letter, beyond which it cannot penetrate to the revelation of the spirit ; the other believes itself competent to grasp the spirit without the letter. The one perceives nothing in Christ but the Son of man ; the other, nothing but the Son of God ; — and so the one would have only the human element in Christianity, without the divine ; the other, only the divine, without the human. The last antithesis is of the utmost importance, on account of its bearing on the essence of Christian morality. For as this presupposes the oneness of the Son of God and the Son of man in Christ, so the re-

finement of the entire man, as a form for the manifestation of the divine life, is its principle, flowing directly from this presupposition." — p. 340.

In the last sentence we see something of the author's mysticism. He regards the union of the Divine with the human in Jesus as the ground of a new morality, inasmuch as by that every thing human, not only in Jesus, but in all who share his life, is transfigured (*verklärt*) and appears in its new light as "a form of manifestation of the life of God." We would not quarrel with a mysticism of this kind, but rather accept it and endeavour to appropriate it. We must be reconciled in Neander to some dimness of horizon. We shall not find in him that clear dialectic sharpness which we observe, for instance, in Schleiermacher, the theologian of the preceding generation ; but we have in its place the greatest practical earnestness and soberness, which are certainly not less valuable. In giving an account of opinions, he seems to us to have great discrimination, as well as almost unequalled learning. Marcion is evidently a favorite with Neander, and his account of Marcion's opinions is unusually rich and instructive. We quote from it the following paragraphs : —

"The opposition between *πίστις* and *γνῶσις*, between an exoteric and an esoteric Christianity, was among the marked peculiarities of the other Gnostic systems ; but in Marcion's case, on the contrary, who adhered so closely to the practical Apostle Paul, no such opposition could possibly be allowed to exist. To the merely outward and more truly Jewish than Christian notion of *πίστις*, which had found admission into the Christian Church, he opposed, not a self-conceited Gnosis, but the conception of *πίστις* itself, apprehended according to the genuine sense of St. Paul. In his view, *πίστις* was the common fountain of the divine life for all Christians. He knew of nothing higher than the *illumination which every* Christian ought to possess. What he recognized as genuine Christianity ought to be recognized as such by all capable of receiving Christianity in any sense. He could make no other distinction than that between the riper Christians and those that needed still to be instructed in Christian principles (the catechumens).

"In a twofold respect, Marcion's appearance is a fact of great significance in the history of the world. In the first place, he stands a living witness of the impression which Christianity, as something wholly new and supernaturally divine, produced on men of strong and lively feelings. We see how Christianity ap-

peared to such a person, looking at it from the point of view which had been reached by his age, and in its relation to all that had proceeded forth out of the previous development of mankind. It is a fact which here speaks to us. Next the great significance of Marcion's appearance consists in this: that we perceive in him the first symptoms of a reaction necessary in the course of the historical evolution, — a reaction of the Pauline type of doctrine, reclaiming its rightful authority, against the strong leaning of the Church to the side of James and Peter, — a reaction of the Christian consciousness, reasserting the independence acquired for it by the labors of Paul, against a new combination of Jewish and Christian elements, — a reaction of the protestant spirit against the catholic element now swelling in the bud. At its first appearance, this reaction might easily be led wrong, and tend too exclusively, again, to the other side of the truth. It was needful that various *momenta* should be evolved, before the reaction could be a pure one, clear in itself, and therefore certain of the victory. As Marcion gives us the picture of Paul, not in all the harmonious *many-sidedness* of his great spirit, but only in a single aspect of it, we consequently find in Marcion himself the impetuous ardor, but not the calm, reflective prudence, — the practical, but not the dialectic spirit of Paul, — we find in him the acuteness and perspicacity of the Apostle in discerning and setting forth opposites, but not the conciliating wisdom for which the Apostle was no less distinguished." — pp. 460, 461.

"The consciousness of redemption formed the ground-tone of his religious life, — the fact of redemption he regarded as the central point of Christianity. But as it is only through numberless stages of transition and intermediate points that every thing can ultimately be referred to this as the central point, — as the whole development of the world in history and nature were in this to be brought into a comprehending unity, — the impatient Marcion, who was averse to all gradual measures and intermediate steps, who was for having every thing alike complete and at once, could not so understand it." — p. 462.

How far Neander is from a bigoted devotion to anti-rationalism will appear from the following passage.

"The two main tendencies of the theological spirit here denoted correspond to the two tendencies which necessarily belong together in the Christian process of transforming the world, — but of which either one or the other is ever wont to predominate; — the world-resisting and the world-appropriating tendency of the Christian mind. The undue predominance of either one of these is, in truth, attended with its own peculiar dangers. In connection with this stands another antithesis. Christianity is

based upon a supernatural revelation ; but this revelation would be appropriated and understood by the organ of a reason which submits to it ; since it is not destined to remain a barely outward thing to the human spirit. The supernatural element must be owned in its organic connection with the natural, which in this finds its full measure and complement. The fact of redemption has for its very aim, indeed, to do away the schism between the supernatural and the natural ; — the fact of God's becoming man is in order to the humanization of the divine, and the deification of the human. Hence there will ever be springing up two tendencies of the theological spirit, corresponding, as must be evident, to the two just now described, and of which the one will feel itself impelled to understand and represent the supernatural element of Christianity, in its opposition to the other, the same element in its connection with the natural : the one will seek to apprehend the supernatural and suprarational element as *such* ; the other will strive to apprehend the same in its harmony with reason and nature, — to present the supernatural and suprarational to consciousness, as that which is still conformed to nature and to reason. Thus there comes to be formed a predominance of the *supernaturalist* or of the *rationalist* element, both of which should meet together in order to a sound and healthy development of Christian doctrine ; while from the predominance of the one or the other of these elements, opposite dangers arise." — pp. 507, 508.

Equally far is he from being blinded, by any Orthodox theories, to the distinction between philosophical conclusions and practical doctrines. And in that freedom he says of the subject so interesting to us, the doctrine of the Trinity : —

" This doctrine does not strictly belong to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith ; as appears sufficiently evident from the fact, that it is expressly held forth in no one particular passage of the New Testament ; — for the only one in which this is done, the passage relating to the three that bear record (1 John v. 7), is undoubtedly spurious, and in its unguine shape testifies to the fact, how foreign such a collocation is from the style of the New-Testament scriptures. We find in the New Testament no other fundamental article besides that of which the Apostle Paul says, that other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, the annunciation of Jesus as the Messiah ; and Christ himself designates as the foundation of his religion the faith in the only true God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent (John xvii. 3). What Paul styles distinctively the mystery relates in no one instance to what belongs to the hidden depths of the divine essence, but to the divine purpose of salvation which found its

accomplishment in a fact. But that doctrine presupposes, in order to its being understood in its real significance for the Christian consciousness, this fundamental article of the Christian faith; and we recognize therein the essential contents of Christianity, summed up in brief, as may be gathered from the determinate form which is given to Theism by its connection with this fundamental article. It is this doctrine by which God becomes known as the original Fountain of all existence; as He by whom the rational creation, that had become estranged from him, is brought back to the fellowship with him; and as He in the fellowship with whom it from thenceforth subsists: — the threefold relation in which God stands to mankind, as primal ground, mediator, and end, — Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, — in which threefold relation the whole Christian knowledge of God is completely announced. Accordingly all is herein embraced by the Apostle Paul, when he names the one God and Father of all, who is above all, and works through all and in all (Ephes. iv. 6); or Him from whom are all things, through whom are all things, and to whom are all things; — when, in pronouncing the benediction, he sums up all in the formula: the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit. God, as the living God, the God of mankind, and the God of the Church, can be truly known in this way only. This shape of Theism presents the perfect mean between the wholly extramundane God of Deism, and the God brought down to, and confounded with, the world of Pantheism. As this mode of the knowledge of God belongs to the peculiar essence of Theism and the Theocracy, it follows that *its* groundwork must be given with the groundwork of the latter in the Old Testament, — the doctrine of God, whose agency is in the world through his Word and with his Spirit: and hence it was no accident, to be explained by the supervention of outward influences merely, that such a shaping of the consciousness of God grew out of the germs already contained in the Old Testament; — a truth which has not been duly attended to by those who, in their account of the progressive development of doctrines, have been inclined to explain too many things by a reference to outward causes.

“ We must take care not to be deceived by false analogies, in comparing this doctrine with apparently kindred dogmas of other religions, or with mere speculative theories. Its connection, already pointed out, with the fundamental consciousness of Christianity, must furnish, in this case, the right standard of comparison. Aside from this, the threefold designation of the Supreme Essence, or the hypothesis of a threefold gradation in the principles of existence, can furnish only a delusive analogy, where

perhaps there may be lying at bottom some theory most directly opposed to the Christian view of the world ; — as the case is, indeed, with regard to the Indian Trimurti, which stands connected with a thoroughly pantheistic scheme, wholly at war with the theistic and theological principle of Christianity, — the doctrine, namely, of a divine essence which manifests itself in a constant repetition of the same process of rising and vanishing worlds. And even within the Christian Church itself, systems, consisting of a pantheistic deification of reason and of the world, have employed this doctrine, wrested from its original connection, and made to bear a sense at variance with its true import, for the purpose of giving currency to some scheme under a Christian garb, which in essence was wholly opposed to Christianity." — pp. 572, 573.

Of the "economico-practical doctrine of the Trinity" he thus speaks : —

"It is that which forms the basis of the true unity of the Church and the identity of the Christian consciousness in all ages. But the intellectual process of development, by means of which the economico-practical doctrine of the Trinity was reduced to the ontological, was a gradual one, and must necessarily run through manifold opposite forms, until it issued at last in some mode of apprehension, satisfying the demand of unity in the Christian consciousness, and in the activity of the dialectic reason." — pp. 573, 574.

Neander's History is generally regarded as one of the most important products of the theological literature in which our times have been so fertile ; and we think that Professor Torrey has rendered a substantial service to the Church in the work of this translation.

G. F. S.

ART. VIII. — BUSHNELL ON CHRISTIAN NURTURE.*

DR. BUSHNELL'S work which furnishes the topic of the present article consists of two Discourses first preached, we

* 1. *Discourses on Christian Nurture.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, Pastor of the North Church, Hartford. Boston : Mass. Sabbath School Society. 1847. pp. 72.

2. *An Argument for "Discourses on Christian Nurture,"* addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford. 1847. 8vo. pp. 48.

suppose, in the ordinary course of the author's ministry. But, for several reasons, we desire especially to commend it to the notice of our readers. It discusses an important subject ; and the argument is conducted in a spirit so rational and free, so truly Christian, that it must command the admiration of those who may dissent from its conclusions. Indeed, were its views generally adopted, they would revolutionize the life of the Christian world. The Discourses come to us under the sanction of unusual authority. Dr. Bushnell's name has a commanding claim to attention. He is one of the prominent preachers of New England, distinguished for profound thought and a glowing eloquence. Further, a brief advertisement to the book informs us that the argument was read to an association of ministers, who requested its publication. We also learn, from the title-page, that it was approved by the Committee of Publication of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and printed at their depository. Greater importance, of course, is to be attached to opinions which seem to have secured the sanction of such various minds. We propose, first, to notice the peculiar harmony between the views presented by Dr. Bushnell and those which we have been accustomed to cherish, and, next, to offer a few remarks upon the main topic of the work itself.

A sketch of the general argument of the volume will be the best introduction, perhaps, to what we wish to say. The question which Dr. Bushnell proposes to answer is, — What is the true idea of Christian education ? And he replies, in general, in the following proposition : — “ That the child is to grow up a Christian. In other words, the aim, effort, and expectation should be, not, as is commonly assumed, that the child is to grow up in sin, to be converted after he comes to a mature age, but that he is to open on the world as one that is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years.” He sustains this proposition by various arguments. He meets the objection from experience by the obvious answer, that we do not make a Christian atmosphere around us, in our homes, and in the Church. He contends that his doctrine involves no absurdity, “ for all that is implied to be in a Christian state ” is, that “ one has simply begun to love what is good for its own sake ” ; that “ it is

implied in all religious philosophy, if a child ever loves any thing because it is good and right, that it [the fact] involves the dawn of a new life"; and that this feeling of love may be awakened in the mind of a child to commence the combat with evil there, as well as in the man. He affirms that, upon any theory of the corruption of human nature, the best time, certainly, to apply the remedy, is in "the most ductile period of life." He tells us, that this view, instead of being new, has long been held in the European churches; that the Moravians especially, whose piety is so fervent and sweet, "make it a radical distinction in their system, so that not one in ten of their number recollects the time when he began to be religious." And, lastly, under this branch of the discussion, by a strong statement of the organic relation between the parent and the child, he shows it to be the intention, that "the Christian life and spirit of the parent shall flow into the minds of the children, to blend with their incipient and half-formed exercises."

The second Discourse is occupied with the inquiry, How far revelation favors such views. It is not necessary to give any statement of this part of the argument. It is sufficient to say, that Dr. Bushnell insists that the Scriptures sustain every thing which he had previously advanced upon the subject. We should like to transfer to our pages extended extracts. We should especially like to give two passages towards the close of the book; one, in which the author shows how religion is made odious, at times, by insisting upon the inherent *necessary* opposition between every thing in the child's feeling and the spirit of religion, until a new heart shall have been given him; and the other, in which he attempts to prove that this view of Christian nurture presents the only remedy for the deficiencies in the religious life of the time, leading men to seek, not a piety of conquest, of revivals simply, but a piety of growth, deep, constant, inextinguishable, like the affections of home. The passages referred to would exhibit his view more completely than any outline we can give. They would furnish a specimen, also, of that calm, simple, yet energetic and sometimes eloquent style, which characterizes the Discourses. But we prefer to commend the entire work to our readers, as well deserving a careful perusal.

We have been surprised at the harmony between the opinions of Dr. Bushnell and our own. Often it is an

identity of thought, rather than harmony. Here is a book upon Christian nurture by an eminent divine in the Orthodox Church, in which the discussion incidentally relates to many theological opinions, and two great doctrines of that Church — human depravity and regeneration — are directly involved at every step. It is easy to see, of course, to what school of theology the author belongs, by occasional expressions in his pages. At first, some of these expressions perplexed us. But our difficulties vanished when we gained an apprehension of his whole view. Slight criticisms we might easily make, yet we do not know that we have any distinct objection to offer to any one of Dr. Bushnell's main positions. They state our own faith, expounded from another point of view, and presented in a different, though sometimes very slightly different, dress.

Dr. Bushnell affirms that he believes, and that the Scriptures teach, the doctrine of human depravity; yet he makes haste also to say, that, if the Scriptures did not assert it, "the familiar laws of physiology would require us to believe what amounts to the same thing." For "it is not sin which the child derives from his parents, but only some prejudice to the perfect harmony of his mould, some kind of pravity or obliquity which inclines him to evil." Now if this be the statement of the doctrine, we scarcely know who ventures to deny it. At least, we do not. All men must admit what physiological laws establish. No opponent of the ancient doctrine can ask to have it arraigned before a better tribunal; and it shows the freedom and the philosophical character of Dr. Bushnell's mind, that he is found to refer such a theological opinion, in some sense at least, to the test of scientific investigation. We affirm such a doctrine of depravity as earnestly as the author himself. It declares one of the fixed laws of the universe. It was uttered amidst the dread revelations of Sinai. It is symbolized in those fearful tendencies to physical disease which sometimes descend through many generations. It is seen in the mental and moral peculiarities belonging to family and race. Its perfect explanation, perhaps, we may not find, but the fact is clear. We can only say that it garners up every element of good, also, and transmits it, as an increasing inheritance, to successive ages. And it presents an appeal, more affecting than almost any other, to the heart of each generation, not to send down a curse to darken the being of the children of its

love, and to be as a blight in the world through long ages to come.

Again, Dr. Bushnell strenuously asserts the doctrine of regeneration. His view of that doctrine has been already indicated. His idea in substance is, to use his own words, that "the child must not only be touched with some gentle emotions towards what is right, of which the worst minds are more or less capable, but he must love it with a fixed love, love it for the sake of its principle, receive it as a vital and formative power." We could not express our own view more accurately than in this language. And no part of the statement pleases us more than the distinction which is made between those natural impulses to good which belong to human nature, and that free devotion to truth for its own sake, which is the very essence of the Christian life. These natural impulses are as a troop of angels abiding in the heart, ready to welcome the Lord into its secret chambers whenever he appears. But only when they become fixed and controlling affections, as the result of some sudden experience or of a gradual progress, is the life of regeneration verily begun. We see no shade of difference between Dr. Bushnell's doctrine and our own. And we say also with him, that the soul does not grow up into this fixed devotion to truth by the mere unfolding of its life, as the seed becomes a tree. Man may not remember when the process began; but, consciously or unconsciously, it must be "a free exercise," the determined choice of the heart. "Except a man be" thus "born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

We rejoice in these signs of a growing harmony of thought between men of different sects and ourselves, wherever they appear. In this respect, Dr. Bushnell's book does not stand alone. We continually meet modified statements of popular doctrines, which leave them at only a slight remove from our own thought. But we hail these results with no sectarian joy. We rejoice, because they promise to obliterate sectarian divisions. They confirm one of our long-cherished hopes, which soars far above party triumphs. We have long believed, that, if the tumult of our theological battles could be hushed, and men be left to pursue their inquiries with unbiased feelings, we should find, in all thinking minds, a wonderful, an unsuspected, an ever-growing harmony. Dr. Bushnell's volume, and all similar indications, more than

confirm our hope. We do not assume that this book represents the general opinion, or any prevailing opinion, in the Orthodox Church. While we are writing, we learn that it has been suppressed by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. It only confirms what we supposed before, that such views are an exception to the general faith. Still, they are adopted and preached. They have found a tongue. Their suppression will be their surest publication. It is strange that men have not yet learned that the word can never be silenced, which has once been spoken, ay, even whispered, in any ear. These modifications of opinion will go on and accomplish their work. We are not assuming, indeed, in noticing such approximations to harmony of thought, that these changes of opinion have occurred only in the views of others. Far from it. Doubtless, our own views may have been also changed. As soon as our warfare partially ceased, we turned from the peculiarities of sectarian thought to dwell in the universal truth; and thus, while we imagined ourselves separated as widely as ever, insensibly the causes of division were diminished every day.

A most attractive view is here presented. Some men trust in religious controversy to beat down the division-walls of sects, and to promote the progress of truth. We share very little in any such hopes. It was a remark of Dr. Channing, when asked "why he did not defend his views against the attacks which were made upon them," that "he feared to have his mind linger around his own writings." It was a remark full of wisdom. It indicates one inevitable danger attending all religious controversy; a danger from which few men have been great enough to escape. In such controversy we linger too fondly around our own views. We become advocates, instead of simple and lowly seekers after truth. We intrench ourselves in some narrow position of our own, to defend it rather than to reëxamine it, instead of passing on to new inquiries in the broad universe of truth. The true freedom of the mind is disturbed by any such bias in our thought. All human experience attests this danger. Not while the contest has raged, but after it has ceased, the world has made the most rapid advances. Always, when the strife has been over, and the prejudice it has caused vanished, the extreme opinions on either side, the very watch-words of the battle, perhaps, have been forgotten; and the pure truth in the views of both has remained in the mind of the world.

We welcome Dr. Bushnell's book, because it shows us that he has not pursued his inquiries as a controversialist. He has not read theology through the medium of a creed. He seems to have attempted to open all the volumes of God's revelations, — nature, Scripture, the human soul, — with a free spirit. If we could throw away our creeds, written and unwritten, — for both may be almost equally enslaving, — and pursue our investigations in a similar way, we should attain many beautiful results. When we wish to enter the temple of truth in our inquiries, we must cease to be partisans or advocates. We must forget other men's opinions. We must not "linger around" our own. We are to listen only to the oracles speaking there. We know that many think otherwise. But nothing would delight us more than to see Unitarian and Orthodox believers abandoning their mutual attacks and defences, and giving themselves singly to this positive unfolding of holy truth. Each of these bodies of believers would then do a blessed work for the other. Each, we think, has truth which the other needs. The interests of sects might seem to suffer by such a process ; truth could not suffer. Let us forget our controversies. We have all been driven too much into extreme positions. Let us bow down together in one and the same prayer for light. No true union, no illumination of the Redeemer's Church, will greet us, until we assume this position. No schemes of alliance can make us one. The real unity results from the continual flowing together of the streams of thought and feeling, when we look only to Christ and his cross, and find the same spirit descending upon all hearts in an increasing power. Then shall we be one, because Jesus is in us and we are all in him.

Our limits admonish us to leave these topics and pass to a brief notice of the chief theme of Dr. Bushnell's Discourses. And here we can neither enter into an extended consideration of the author's theory of Christian nurture, nor venture to present one of our own. We call attention rather to two great principles, two vital principles, as we regard them, which are distinctly recognized in these Discourses. Indeed, if fully unfolded, we think they would suggest the true theory of all Christian nurture. The first, and we apprehend the fundamental, principle in religious education is this, — that all true culture begins with the development of the heart. We give Dr. Bushnell's statement of this position.

"First of all, parents should rather seek to teach a feeling than a doctrine, to bathe the child in their own feeling of love to God, and dependence on him, and contrition for wrong before him, bearing up the child's heart in their own, not fearing to encourage every good motion they can call into exercise; to make what is good happy and attractive, what is wrong odious and hateful. Then, as the understanding advances, give it food suited to its capacity, opening upon it, gradually, the more difficult views of Christian doctrine and experience."

We do not wish to cite this passage for any unfair use. We are not quite certain that Dr. Bushnell means to say all that we should like to affirm. Something of the old idea seems to us to be embodied in his Discourses, — namely, that speculative truths, doctrines, must be given to the intellect in order to awaken the heart. We object to any admission of that idea. We believe, that, at the beginning, and at every step of true religious culture, the life of the heart is to precede the unfolding of truths to the understanding. The doctrine may be a means of quickening a life which has already begun. But first life, and then doctrine, is the legitimate, the divine order.

The natural development of the soul seems to teach us this. The first movements of its life are the wakings of its affection. The child is bathed in an atmosphere of love as it enters upon its present being, and the kiss of maternal tenderness is the first quickening influence which greets its undeveloped nature, like the breathing of God by which man becomes a living soul. The first smile of intelligence is a ray of love beaming over the infant features. The first thought is more a feeling than a thought. What is it but a response of the heart of the child to the deep call of the heart which is yearning over it, in its unfathomable tenderness? The heart is the first part of our being that lives. And, as its life is unfolded, as varied and almost numberless tones of feeling are called forth, by the varied influences sweeping across its thousand strings, new and grander thoughts are born into the understanding, in quick succession. When we observe this natural unfolding of the life, when we remember that the child is placed amidst an all-embracing influence, which makes it a moral necessity for its affections to be first unfolded, we wonder how we could have ever forgotten a truth so clear. How divinely is the way opened to the true love of God, by the leadings

of nature, through this spontaneous affection to the parent ! The central, informing spirit, the life of true religion, may begin to glow in the breast of the child, — a loving, obedient, all-trusting affection, — long before its understanding can grasp one of those views which are often called essential doctrines. And when feeling deepens, and a power is gained to comprehend something of its life, then those glorious thoughts of the Father and his love, all worthy conceptions of filial duty, the deep things of Christian experience, even that spirit which spoke in the life of the Redeemer, appear in grand revelations to the soul. The voice of God teaches us, in the divine processes of nature, that the heart is first to be wakened into life.

The same view is enforced anew, when we consider what those great principles in religion are, which are worthy to bear the name of doctrine. The word has been almost entirely perverted from its legitimate use. It has been mainly applied to the multitude of metaphysical speculations connected with religious truths. These can never be learned by the process we are advocating. Let them go. They are tares in the field, so intertwined with living truths, perhaps, that they cannot be plucked out as yet without rooting up the wheat also. But we trust that the day of their burning will speedily come. True Christian doctrines, we suppose, are really the statements of the great processes and results of true religious life. They are the divine conclusions taught by the experience of a divine spirit, such as lived in the breast of Jesus ; the burning thoughts of God and man, of truth and love, of life and immortality, blazing up for ever in the soul when it has been baptized with the holy ghost and with fire. They are the enrapturing, the overwhelming truths unfolded in the vision of God which cometh to the pure in heart. Here we know not how to speak. We can only say they are all those conceptions which come by a divine necessity, as the soul enters into harmony with the life of the Father, and, in some true sense of the word, is moved by the indwelling spirit of God. Such truths are doctrines, — truths of the living heart. The truth is an inference from the life at every step. Reproduce the experience, or you can never impart the thought. Ascend the mountain-heights of a diviner life, or you can never see the heavenly prospects opening around you there. The beloved Apostle declares the process whereby all true theol-

ogy is to be learned, when he says, "God is love ; and he that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God." The wisdom of truth is found in the deep things of the spirit of love.

But may there not be some direct instruction in doctrine, in Christian education ? — many may ask. Certainly, there must be. These remarks directly indicate the true method of all such instruction. Let these great conclusions be drawn out from the soul's experience in distinct statements to the understanding, as rapidly as that experience unfolds them. Let the same principle be here applied, which must be obeyed in all intelligent instruction. It is in the nature of the mind, for instance, to deduce the great laws of the natural world from its observation of the facts of nature. And the truths thus learned are its guides in its future inquiries. Let the laws of the spiritual world be thus deduced, as the heart lives. Nothing can more truly quicken or give intensity to the life of the heart, perhaps, than such an embodiment of the life already gained into a burning thought, a divine law, to be held up before the understanding, and thus to pour down its light into every faculty of the soul. There is a beautiful action and reaction here in the development of our being. Thus may man be led into the deeper things in the spirit of Jesus. The first movements of pure life in the heart lead us to see the truth of some teaching from his lips. Then meditation upon that truth, that doctrine, deepens the feeling ; and the deeper feeling gives new meaning to the doctrine ; and that again has a more commanding power over the heart ; and each new gush of life, like the deepened love of Jesus in his last hour of communion with the Twelve, makes the old commandment seem a new revelation of almighty truth ; and the soul is borne upward by this twofold influence, with accelerating speed, towards the bosom of its God. Is there to be no instruction in doctrinal truths, do any ask again ? If we mean by doctrinal truths what the world has most frequently understood by that expression, we can only pray that they may be quickly forgotten. Neither let there be any instruction in really Christian doctrines, which shall outrun the capacity of the soul, through the openings of its experience, to begin to grasp their purport. But let instruction never fail, according to the process we have indicated ; systematic, living teaching, drawn forth from the wells of life in the soul. Through such teaching, whether given to the child or the man, new life shall for ever come.

An answer to the chief objection to views like these is here suggested, which we cannot forbear to notice. It is the power of great doctrines, we are continually told, which has accomplished the noblest revolutions in the thought and in the action of men. Some quickening truth has come down, like fire from heaven, into the mind of the world, consuming its corruptions, and creating it anew. Let us look more deeply, and we find a confirmation of our theory in these same great facts. By what law are these quickening truths revealed? When do they come, to kindle a new life in the heart of the world? They come when its previous development has prepared it to begin to see any truth so great. For long centuries men have stood within a single step of the noblest truths of science. Not until a preparation of mind was gained to take that single step, did the discovery appear. So it is with great moral truths. There must be a preparation, a progress in the world's life, before these creative truths will unfold themselves to the single mind or to the community. And instantly, when they appear, are they to be published abroad, to carry onward that great revolution which has already given them birth. These doctrines, which seem to do the work, are only the grand conclusions to which experience has led. The fulness of time must thus for ever come, before the Redeemer shall be born. The life precedes the doctrine; and we repeat Dr. Bushnell's statement of a principle so vital, in deep joy that it has found another expression, in his Discourses, to the ear of the world.

The second principle to which we wished to refer is rather implied than distinctly expressed in the Discourses. It is the principle, that there is no necessary, inherent opposition between religious truth and the mind of the child; that we may unfold this truth with an absolute faith in the capacity of the soul to receive its influence. All this is inevitably implied, indeed, in the general proposition, "that the child is to grow up a Christian, not remembering the time when he went through any technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from its earliest years." There may be depravity, according to Dr. Bushnell's statement of that doctrine. These tendencies to perverse desires may become "a fixed prejudice" against the truth in many hearts. One may also say, as our author affirms, that there must be a direct influence of the spirit of God to breathe the

divine life into every human soul, if it be said, at the same time, that the first unfolding of truth to the soul is this breathing of the spirit. After all, the proposition amounts to this, that religious truth is the natural food of the unperverted mind; for if the child may be trained from the first in the love of God, never conscious of any warfare, according to Dr. Bushnell's statement, all this impression of any inherent opposition to the truth must be altogether baseless.

We deduce the principle, however, from the views which we have already advanced. The doctrines of religion are the truths unfolded in the development of the soul. They are the laws of its life. Instead of being against its nature, they alone give us a revelation of its deeper nature. They bring its life to light. No view of religion, indeed, is more beautiful, or more awful, than this. Here is unfolded the profound significance of that doctrine of Jesus, where he calls his word "the bread of life." These great religious affections, this pure love of God, this divine love of man, are all as natural as the gushing sympathies of home. Instead of being a forced product of the life, they are its fairest flower. In reality, they are the pure results for which all deep earthly sympathies are designed as a preparation. These streams are made to flow, that they may bear us on to this boundless ocean of the love of God. Here, too, is the dread view of religion to alarm those whom nothing besides may move. These laws of the soul never change, nor cease their action when we violate their commandment. Like the outraged laws of physical nature, they visit the transgression with a retribution that is fatally sure. The word which Jesus speaks must judge unbelievers at the last day. The most appalling and the most enrapturing views of religion are here. And here is the immovable foundation of a true confidence in all endeavours to unfold the principles of true religious life to the world. How sure that confidence, even when they are presented to the sinning heart! You speak the deepest laws of its being, which no prodigal perversity can for ever obscure. Let no man fear to unfold them to the depravity which seems the darkest. Deep calleth unto deep. The deepest spirit in the apparently ruined soul believes, and trembles, although its hour of repentance is not yet. And when the appeal is to the heart of the child, every door of access is left open for the spirit of God to enter there. The world often sadly for-

gets its sinning children. And yet, did men always strive to preserve the uncorrupted, with the same fidelity in which they sometimes plead with the grossly fallen, what imagination can picture the possible result? If those who are sunk into the hell of sin can be borne across the almost impassable gulf to their Father's house, what could we fail to do, were we faithful, for those who have just come down out of heaven into our arms?

No man can state the possible effect of such a principle in Christian education. It not only inspires an invincible confidence; it removes the cloud which has so long concealed religion's especial charm. Dr. Bushnell describes, with deep feeling in his words, the unlovely aspect which has been so often given it by the idea that it frowns upon all the noble impulses, the generous affections, of human nature, until some technical experience has been gained. Men have made religion repulsive, almost hateful, by this mistake. Let such a doctrine be fully developed, and it will drive the heart into moral self-abandonment, or into madness. It has had unnumbered victims, whom Dr. Bushnell's statement might have saved. Indeed, religion must have been overthrown many times by the false teachings of its sincere, but mistaken, advocates, had it not been a declaration of those eternal laws of the soul which neither the mistakes of friends nor the opposition of foes can set aside. Piety will never wear its true aspect, winning the soul by its loveliness, until we entirely outgrow this sad misapprehension. Let us believe in an absolute harmony between the soul of the child, and the love, the life, to which Jesus calls it. Let us think of religion as bending over the young heart, as the mother, in her love, looks into the infant's face, assured that a capacity is there to begin at once to answer to its infinite affection; to be unfolded in a filial tenderness as natural as any that ever blessed a home upon earth, and as enduring as the relation between the spirit and its God. Only then shall we see the noblest victories of Christian truth in the heart of transgressing men or unpervverted youth.

There are confirmations of the hope that such victories will yet be witnessed. Notwithstanding the fact that the world is filled with instances of failure, experience, in one view, verifies our principle. What makes the child's heart leap up so quickly at a history of goodness? How he muses, in his dreams of the future, on pure and noble deeds

which he hopes to do ! How he follows Jesus in the outpouring of his priceless affections, as you tell of his all-suffering love in living tones ! How he listens, at times, in subdued reverence, when you speak in pure faith of a Father's providence ! How instinctively he believes in immortality ! Other impulses quickly and often come ; yet these are present too. The young heart may open under such instructions as the flowers to the sun, if we do not cloud it by our sin. And if we wish for a more convincing witness from experience, we have only to remember the instance of the Moravians, to whom Dr. Bushnell refers. No devotion has been more fervent than theirs ; and their hymns of praise, the expressions of their love and trust and prayer in song, seem more like breathings from heaven than notes from mortal lips. They present religion in its loveliness, not only because they are so true, but because they speak to the heart of the child with a faith in its power to begin to breathe this air of heaven in the first opening of its life.

But we forbear. We must leave some topics which we desired to present. Let us again commend these Discourses of Dr. Bushnell to general notice, and, in few words, urge the importance of the subject which they discuss. We rejoice to see so many indications of a new conviction of the necessity of a true Christian nurture, as our only real hope for our country and for the world. No pleadings upon this theme can be too urgent or too strong. Many of the attempts at great moral reformations partially fail, because this Christian education has not been given. We counsel no cessation of these pleadings for such reforms. By an attack upon specific sins we may produce convictions of regenerating truths in the heart of the world. But we cannot yet graft such pure fruits of love upon this corrupt and selfish life. One generation, trained in the spirit of the view which Dr. Bushnell presents, might banish slavery and war, and many kindred sins. We rejoice, too, that parental influence is urged by him so strongly, as a divinely appointed agency for this great work. No combination of holy influences can compensate for its loss. We mourn, as we consider this, when we see how the children of numberless homes seem to be bereaved of their heaven-ordained teachers by the tendencies or the neglects of the time. The intense action of the business world, absorbing all thought, all energy, on the part of so many in large sections of the country, and the gradual

neglect of parental discipline in so many instances more, have produced a vast change in this respect throughout the world. When we think of the direct moral influence which is attempted or exerted, how often does the parent seem to be little more than an idea to the child, if haply the case be not sadder still ! We shudder to read of the children who are brought to the Ganges by parental hands, to be cast into the fatal stream. Yet, though misguided, a sense of religion is there, and that thought throws a kind of consecration over such an unnatural and revolting deed. What is it to suffer the child to go by our neglect, or to cast him by our example, into that more fatal stream of selfish thought, feeling, desire, which pours through the heart of society, as its controlling life ? Here arise questions not to be set aside. If they be not heard, they will yet demand an answer in tones which no man can silence.

Even our arrangements for moral instruction seem partially to remove the child from this indispensable parental nurture. True, it is an absolute, an inexcusable perversion of their design. Yet we fear, we believe, that many parents, who would feel it an imperative duty, under other circumstances, to attempt to give some direct, regular religious teaching to their children, transfer that holy office now to other hands. The instruction sadly ceases in the home, because it is given in the Sunday school. The parent cannot transfer his office, let others do what they may. These neglectful parents not only bereave their offspring of an influence which they alone can exert, they almost defeat every influence besides. The *silence* of a parent's lips respecting the holiest themes may do more to chill the child's heart into apathy, to make it heedless, dead to all Divine appeals, than any direct teaching of others can do to give it life. The negative influence of a home may outweigh all the positive influence of a world. The parent cannot transfer his office. No solemn sanctions of the truth of God in later years can inspire a reverence more profound, more all-subduing, than that in which the child may listen to the fervent teaching of a true mother's heart. Here is a priesthood which is divine, through which the spirit of truth and love shall flow directly into the secret soul. We repeat, the parent cannot transfer his office, if he would. And he who seeks to do it should be ashamed, both for his want of natural affection, and his neglect of his directly consecrated work, his inexcusable sin. But we

can only present these suggestions. We wish that some voice of power would express in living words this "cry of the children" to those who have given them life, for the nurture of their souls; for then should we see the foundation securely laid upon which our best hopes for the world may rest.

Since the preceding article was written, Dr. Bushnell has published "*An Argument for Discourses on Christian Nurture, addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.*" It is an admirable pamphlet. A few passages, we confess, seemed to us at first severe. They certainly show with what skill the author might use the most pointed weapons, if he chose. Yet a perusal of the whole has convinced us, that even these passages may be regarded as proper rebukes from one who is assured of his position and is working for the noblest and broadest ends. A large portion of his Argument is devoted to a most successful defence of his little work against the charge of heresy. We admire the spirit of reverence and of freedom in which he pursues this discussion; entering upon it, "not because he does not feel himself at liberty to defy all human authority, when truth seems to require it, but because it is pleasant to have the sanction of venerable names, when we may." The remainder of the pamphlet, embracing his replies to criticisms upon his theory of nurture, and remarks upon many connected topics, has a still greater interest. His strictures concerning the nature of the experiences often produced by the excitement of revivals are philosophical and candid. And we have seldom been impressed more deeply than by one passage, in which he makes a renewed statement of the organic connection between the parent and the child, showing how the parent's moral life may stream into the child's soul, as by a law of contagion, in the "era of impressions," even before language has been learned; presenting a view whose possible truth is enough to make every imperfect man almost stand aghast with fear. But we have no space to devote to any of these topics. We can only invite attention to one extract, which is a noble declaration of the catholic spirit in which Dr. Bushnell pursues his inquiries.

"I did not draw up this scheme of nurture to meet the uses or gratify the opinions of any sect. It is a first maxim with me, as

I think it should be in this age of every one who pretends to think at all, to reach after the most comprehensive form of truth possible; to see how far I may dissolve into unity, in the views I present, the conflicting opinions by which men are divided, giving them back all which they are after, in a form which they can accept together. And the fortune of my little book is, in this view, remarkable, though not a surprise to myself." — p. 24.

A man could not honor himself more than by the avowal of such a principle. It proves him to be worthy of his age. We hail it with joy. We deem its advocacy more important than the most successful vindication of any particular opinion which we may cherish. Its prevalence must open a way by which all great truths can be vindicated. Theologians, moved by an aim so broad, are what the Christian world most deeply needs. We should not desire to see them included in one sect. The interests of truth would be better promoted by having some men appear in all the various sects with such comprehensive aims, expounding universal principles each from his special point of view. Then we should not have one strain alone, but a complete anthem, in which all the varied notes would be blended at length in full and perfect harmony. We rejoice to see how consistently Dr. Bushnell follows out his principle in his references to the reception of his work by other sects. We welcome his criticisms upon Unitarianism. He thinks that Unitarianism will cease to exist. If the adoption of his principle of action by the Christian world should at length destroy it as a distinctive sect, we may at least take this comfort, — that the same process would destroy many other sects also. Meanwhile we can only express the earnest desire that some man amongst ourselves will meet Dr. Bushnell, and all who may sympathize with him, in "the freedom of conference" he seems to wish, expounding great doctrines from our own point of view, in the same free and catholic spirit. Perhaps no better service could now be done for the religious world.

G. W. B.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind. By and through ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, the "Poughkeepsie Seer" and "Clairvoyant." New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 782.

THE testimony is so strong in support of the claim, made by Davis and his coadjutors, that this book shall be believed to have been dictated by him in consecutive states of clairvoyance, that we find it most easy to admit the fact, while we take the liberty of rationalizing it a little. Admitting, however, that clairvoyance is an established phenomenon, and that speaking or dictating under its influence is not uncommon, when, in addition to this, it is asserted that the thing dictated is a "supplement of grace" from a spiritual plane above the mind, and not an organic development under the stimulus of an exalted state, there is only one kind of testimony upon which belief can supervene; for a bare assertion is worthless, if the case do not furnish such testimony. In the first place, the knowledge superadded to the mind must not have existed previously as the result of natural speculation; otherwise the revelation would be a superfluity. What every body can know, without the expensive process of an influx of spirits into a clairvoyant's mind, cannot establish the reality of such an influx; because nature, or rather the presence of God, is too economical to create the same result by two distinct methods. Science is continually vindicating the *lex parsimoniae*. We do not question Divine ability; we only assert the Divine limitations of ability, as manifested in the immutability of laws. A system of law may have its exceptional clauses, by virtue of which Divine interference may ensue; but this is for the purpose of effecting something beyond the known routine of law, not for doing something that known laws can do. The crystallization of distinct minerals, the unfolding of all germs, occur only in one way. So, if one truth be imparted by a natural process, we are not authorized to expect that it will be imparted by a preternatural process, — and if the latter be essential, the former is inadequate. We cannot fancy any spiritual agency being at the trouble of revealing what every body knew before. Now, to apply this canon to Davis's book, we find the following objection to its claim; — that the speculations it contains are to be found, so far as our private researches have extended, within the covers of a moderate number of other books. We except some quaint and random

guesses, which certainly cannot be due to a "supplement of grace," since they are not worth having, or at least not essential to be had, by any method. We refer, for instance, to the fancies designed to account for the traditions in the first two chapters of Matthew; any other fancies being equally explanatory, provided the traditionary character of those chapters be first assumed. With respect to the bulk of the work, it is a very ably arranged generalization of the theories contained in the works of the modern development-school, — in the "*Vestiges of Creation*," for instance, — the gaps in these theories being adroitly supplied by guesses which harmonize with their texture, and which the theories irresistibly suggest. It also contains a skilful foreshortening of the cosmogony of Swedenborg and Fourier, together with the two pivotal thoughts of the latter, — "attractions are proportional to destinies," and "the series distribute the harmonies." An attentive reader of that spirited paper, "*The Harbinger*," would be competent to construct the industrial and social revelations of Mr. Davis. And we are forced to say that the bulk of his "*Voice to Mankind*" has been preëxisting in our private library for some time. We except the speculations upon language, as philology has never been our study. Our simple conclusion is, that Mr. Davis has been a reader, whether any body ever saw him read or not. What is once lodged in the memory, even during an irregular and unpremeditated course of reading, may be felicitously reproduced in the clairvoyant state, which raises an ordinary capacity to the higher power manifested by more gifted organizations.

In the second place, the speculations advanced in such a book must fulfil the first condition of a revelation, — that it harmonize with, or that it be appreciable by, reason. But as most of these speculations are of a scientific character, science only can pronounce a definite judgment concerning them. Now the revelation is superfluous in either of the following cases, — if it repeat, or if it anticipate science; because in both of these cases science is adequate for the annunciation of her own truths, and in the latter case the revelation is useless, till science, that is, the inductive understanding, has had time and opportunity to indorse it. It will not do to say that we consider some parts of this book as irrational, because the answer is always ready, — so did the Jews consider Jesus the dupe of Beelzebub, and Paul full of new wine. But we are content to leave the book to satisfy the necessary conditions we have just announced.

Professor Bush, who is in the dilemma of believing in Swedenborg and in Davis also, is forced to ascribe the anti-Swedenborgian passages of the book to the instigation of the devil, who, it seems, alternated with the seraphim in the use of Davis. We

cannot refer to the same source the passages obnoxious to ourselves, because we do not believe in the existence of that personage. At least, we hope he does not exist, as was once wittily remarked, for his own sake. Professor Bush's method is a warning to all lovers of dogmatics; he first assumes what is orthodox, and then eliminates from the book what does not harmonize with that assumption, and traces its paternity to the Enemy of mankind in general, and of Swedenborg in particular. Every body must have his own private test of heresy; but when heresies are so numerous different, it clothes the devil with too much importance to ascribe them all to him.

We do not like many passages of this book, but we cannot agree with many reviewers, who denounce it as being vindictive, anti-social, and destructive. The occasional sneers are not pleasant; neither do we believe that spirits sneer. Here and there the statement of a fact seems to be erroneous, which also militates against the claim of the book to plenary suggestion. The main question of the theory of development awaits the gradual judgment that science may pronounce upon it. It is sufficient to say that facts do not yet substantiate the conclusions of the "*Vestiges of Creation*," a book that seems to have hinted the whole cosmogony of the "*Revelations*." On the other hand, there is a great deal in the book that we admire, and have long admired in other connections. Neither do we reject the theory of attractive industry; but we consider it to be the ripened form of guarantyism and of the Benefit Societies. Sometimes the style of the book is quite pleasant and effective, but it is generally too diffuse and tiresome in its repetitions. The main idea is skilfully sustained and developed, and this, together with rapidity of composition, is probably the chief benefit to be derived from the reproduction of thoughts in the clairvoyant state.

If it should turn out that Mr. Davis never read the books suggestive of his revelation, and never heard them accidentally or designedly made the subject of conversation, and if he did not — as is, after all, most likely — reproduce, by magnetic sympathy, the prevalent mental notions of those in communication with him, which is usually the case with these clairvoyant revelations, — then we must believe that the brain is a galvanic battery, which, when charged, will organically reproduce precisely those theories of Development and of Association that are now dividing the scientific world. For the objections, made above, to the supplemental influx of these theories are to us insuperable. But we feel ourselves attracted into a domain too wide and fruitful for this brief notice.

Mr. Davis affirms, that in his normal state he is orthodox, and believes many of the things that he, or his demon, wilfully denies

in his abnormal state. All our remarks apply to Mr. Davis in his abnormal state; therefore he cannot feel aggrieved at any thing we have suggested.

W—S.

The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton. With a Life of the Author. By JOSIAH QUINCY. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 360.

THE Memoir included in this volume is composed almost entirely of the letters of Major Shaw to his parents, his brothers, and the Rev. Dr. Eliot of Boston. Mr. Quincy has introduced only such remarks as are necessary to connect the personal history of the author with the circumstances amidst which he lived. Major Shaw was one of the true patriots of our war of Independence. He was a soldier then; and if we had ever entertained a doubt whether an army could embrace men of the purest moral principle, of the gentlest feelings, and of a fervent Christian piety, the perusal of this volume would have convinced us of the possibility of the fact. He was a native of Boston, born of a respectable family in the middle ranks of society. While looking forward to a peaceful life of industry and enterprise, and even before he had reached the year of his own legal freedom, he made a voluntary offer of his services in behalf of his country, at the very commencement of the war. He continued to serve through the whole protracted conflict, meeting all the harassing uncertainties which it involved, and bearing his full share of its severe experiences of poverty, suffering, and anxiety. He was a man of good intellectual powers, of most delicate purity of character, and of a noble soul. His letters bear testimony to his excellence; the freshness of incident and the justice of sentiment which present themselves as we read give them a great charm. His Journals, written while he was engaged in the peaceful enterprise of opening commercial relations between our young republic and the China seas, exhibit the judgment and prudence which we should expect to find united with his other qualities. The reader of this volume will discover in it new cause to admire and venerate the character of Washington. What a man he was! What a testimony does he offer to those who argue for a special Providence!

Mr. Quincy has performed his pleasant task with great delicacy and good judgment. The volume, in its mechanical execution, is one of the best which we have ever seen from the American press. The whole expense of the publication is borne by Robert G. Shaw, Esq., nephew of Major Shaw, and the proceeds of its sale are a gift from him to the Boston Marine Society.

E.

The Evangel of Love. Interpreted by HENRY SUTTON. London. 1847. 12mo. pp. 232.

THIS is a strange, mystic book. The author is a hater of forms, a despiser of authority; the Bible is to him a bundle of "old pamphlets"; he is a vegetable-eater, a coiner of new and marvellously uncouth words, evidently an ardent admirer of his own notions, a worshipper of his own dreams, yet withal a man of large sympathies, who has an eye for beauty, a lover of nature, one in whom there is something to like, whose discourse on high themes at times — though long and far between — charms us, while at others, and more frequently, his vain babble, his wild and extravagant opinions, and his Babylonish dialect, leave us in doubt whether we ought rather to censure his perverseness, or "believe him mad." His book is professedly pantheistic, and so, he tells us, "it is wrong to say a stone is *inanimate*, or a gas *unintelligent*." Regarding the Bible as we have said, pronouncing it a "polytheistic book from first to last," treating it with levity, sarcasm, and ridicule, he yet at times professes great respect for it; he "loves" it, he says, he rates it "at a royal value," and he proceeds to interpret it in his whimsical way, applying to it a violence of allegory which might satisfy a Clement of Alexandria, an Origen, or a Swedenborg. Thus, in the account of the creation, which prefigures seven ages of the world, the heavens, he assures us with all imaginable seriousness, mean the "spiritual faculties"; the earth, "intellect," and the waters, "peoples," or "nations"; light is "truth"; grass, herb, and tree, "philosophy, letters, and the arts," the third day being the "Day of Beauty"; the greater light is the "Christian Church," the cross being "the natural emblem of the sun," the lesser light — the "crescent" — being "Mahometanism." So the "meaning of the word, *horse*, is *intellectual doctrine*." Every man, we are told, discarding a "paper-and-ink Deity," that is, the Deity of the Bible, must be "his own priest, his own church, his own Delphi"; we can all be "breathing Bibles," if we will; or we may go, he says, to "Emerson," or "Shelley," or "James Greaves," all true "prophets," he assures us, and among the greatest, by whose help we may get over the "Bible Shallows" and penetrate the "Bible Deeps"; and more than that, — "the whole universe" being "opened" and "the past and the future bared" to the "omniscient gaze" of such men. Among the cabalistic or euphonious words in which he delights are such as these: — "soulic," "bodysoulic," "psychesomeic," and "bodilic." From the better parts of his volume we could quote some pleasing passages, though they might, perhaps, justify the suspicion, that the writer, like some others, would substitute the

worship of beauty for reverence for the sterner principle of duty, and so make puny sentimentalists rather than whole-souled men and Christians. With all the pretension with which they are put forth, and all their boast of light and "inspiration," we cannot think that this is the sort of books by which the world is to be regenerated. Something may be culled from them, no doubt, by those who have skill to separate the good from the evil, but we fear their poisonous flowers.

L.

A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language; with Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names. By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER. Revised and Enlarged, and made substantially an Abridgment of the Author's "Universal and Critical Dictionary." Boston: Jenks, Palmer, & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 491.

THIS work, as the author informs us in the preface, and as the title-page indicates, is substantially "an epitome or abridgment" of the larger work, noticed with commendation by us in our number for November, 1846. It is adapted to the use of schools and academies, and also of families and individuals who may need "a small and cheap manual." We have no hesitation in pronouncing it the best work of the kind now before the public. Attention has been given to the orthography, pronunciation, and meaning of words, and "numerous technical terms in the various arts and sciences" are added. "Some words which are obsolete or antiquated, but which are found in books that are much read," and some which are "local or provincial," as well as "such words and phrases from foreign languages as are often met with in English books," are given, but are so "noted or discriminated" as not to mislead. About 3000 Greek and Latin names have been added to those found in Walker's "Key"; the vocabulary of modern geographical names, with their pronunciation, so useful and even necessary at the present day, has been enlarged, and the Scripture proper names, as well as the classical, the compiler tells us, have been "revised with much care." In all its vocabularies, the volume contains "upwards of 67,000 words." The type is clear and the notations distinct, and altogether this edition possesses a decided superiority over the former, and should be the edition in future used in schools. Mr. Worcester's labors in the department of English lexicography deserve the thanks of all writers and readers of our language.

L.

The Voyage of the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 154.

THIS is the voyage of the century. It is one of those things which can take place but once. It may be imitated; but this was the *first* voyage of a ship of war on such an errand, and as such it will take its place in the history of the world. All the circumstances attending the mission of the Jamestown — the readiness with which she was granted by the government, the manner in which she was loaded, the good wishes of a whole population which attended her, her passage so speedy that almost the first response to the appeal of starving Ireland was her actual appearance, heavily laden with provisions, in the harbour of Cork, and last, but not least, the character of her commander and officers — were such as one would have wished them to be. A favoring Providence seemed to be over the enterprise from beginning to end. Captain Forbes has done well to publish the documents contained in this volume. The particulars should be preserved in a durable form. His Report to the Committee of Distribution, which introduces the Correspondence and Narrative of Events at Cork, is an admirable one, — hearty, frank, to the point, — revealing in the writer a mind and a heart which fitted him to take charge of this national charity. P.

The Prophecy of the Santon; and other Poems. Worcester & Boston. 1847. 12mo. pp. 114.

We have read this volume with much interest, and gladly extend to its author a kind welcome. It interests us, not so much on account of the actual poetry which it contains, as for the sake of the promise of future achievements which we find in it. Its tone is calm and high, and it is evidently the production of a chastened heart and a thoughtful mind. There are passages of considerable strength and fervor of imagination in several of the poems, especially in the one called "Midnight," which, notwithstanding its somewhat unequal execution, strikes us as much the best in the collection. The author shows throughout a quick and delicate appreciation of the musical power of words, and a decided command of melodious measures. The great charm of the book, however, to us, and its fairest sign of progress, is its genuine simplicity and modesty. We have rarely seen a *first* volume of poems so admirable in this respect. We cannot of course give any extracts, but we may refer to "Angel Love," which is, we think, almost perfect in its kind, to the "Song of

Death," and to the "Meeting of Art and Religion," as favorable specimens of the peculiar excellences of this new poet, to whom we again offer our warm and friendly greeting. H—t.

The Months. By WILLIAM H. C. HOSMER. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1847. 16mo. pp. 72.

WE have examined the leaves of another of those poetic volumes in which the literary spirit of our time has so plentifully flowered out,—each successive product having a hue, if not a fragrance, of its own. This new blossom has, to our perceptions, both hue and fragrance. The fancy of our author hardly blooms through every season and month of the year. There is no flaunting pretence or grand proportion in his offering, but it is natural and tasteful, and we accept it as we would the early snowdrop, the spring violet, the summer daisy, or the last gift of autumnal green and crimson that rests on the winter's edge. B—l.

The Principles of Morality, and the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind. By JONATHAN DYMOND. Abridged, etc., for Use of Schools, etc. By CAROLINE M. KIRKLAND. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 263.

OUR readers are doubtless well acquainted with "Dymond's Essays" in its complete form. And yet none can be too familiar with it. We fear that an impression exists somewhat unfavorable to this work, on account of its alleged moral ultraism. In our judgment, such a charge only exhibits the need long felt by us, which this book supplies, of a less compromising code of morals. Many who were not able to receive Dymond's thorough-going Gospel ethics, when the work first appeared, might now, on reading it again, find their minds and hearts able to bear it. We earnestly commend the original work to our readers.

Mrs. Kirkland has done an excellent service in this Abridgment. The language is not changed; only the amplifications and subtile reasonings, not adapted to the comprehension of children and young people, are left out. The work is provided with numerous and carefully prepared questions, fitting it eminently for a Sunday school or class book. Her Preface modestly expresses the hope "that this little book might fall into the hands of some who would be led by its perusal to inquire for the original and far more interesting and instructive volume." We hope,

on the other hand, that those who have read the original will not fail to provide their children with the Abridgment, "presenting in a miniature form, and yet in identical language, the essence of the entire work." We want nothing so much as a more uncompromising obedience to the precepts and spirit of Christ instilled into the mind of the rising generation; and this book is admirably fitted to infuse it.

B—S.

Woman, her Education and Influence. By Mrs. HUGO REID.
With a General Introduction. By Mrs. C. M. KIRKLAND.
New York. 1847. 12mo. pp. 142.

ON the whole, the best argument for "woman's rights" we have read. The extravagance which usually attends the vindication of woman's claims by her own sex is here, for the most part, repressed. We cannot too much admire the skill, taste, delicate satire, and just feeling of Mrs. Kirkland's preliminary essay; and we are not able, even when willing, to escape the calm argumentation and dignified remonstrance which Mrs. Reid opposes to the sneers and jests with which the "nobler sex" are accustomed to receive any assertion of womanly rights beyond those already conceded. We can assure our readers that here is a book aiming at reform in the position of woman, which neither denies Christianity, nor saps social order, which does not sympathize with George Sand, nor quote Fanny Wright. Is not this the book we are all wanting to see?

B—S.

King René's Daughter. A Lyric Drama. From the Danish of HENRIK HERTZ. By JANE FRANCES CHAPMAN, Translator of "Waldemar," and "King Eric and the Outlaw." London. 1845. 18mo. pp. 87.

THIS little Drama is the work of Henrik Hertz, a writer who, as Miss Chapman in her short and sensible Preface tells us, holds a high rank among Danish authors. The idea of the play is the beautiful truth, that spirit precedes and moulds matter, and it is very well carried out. Iolanthé, the daughter of the troubadour King René, of Provence, blind from her childhood, is placed, in order to regain her sight, under the care of an old leech, who says that it can return to her only through the yearnings of her soul after light. These are awakened by the words and love of a young poet, Tristan de Vaudemont, to whom the princess, on receiving her sight, is united. The plot is well conceived and gracefully managed. Miss Chapman's translation, we should

think, must be an excellent one, though we could wish that she had not sometimes sacrificed truth of quantity and simplicity of expression to the demands of metre. These are, however, comparatively trifling defects, and we heartily thank her for the pleasure we have received from this agreeable product of her industry, taste, and skill.

H—t.

The True Story of My Life; a Sketch. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. Translated by Mary Howitt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 298.

THIS very interesting book is so written, that the reader feels, while turning over its pages, that it is as trustworthy in its details as it is simple and natural and beautiful in its style; and also — what cannot be said of every autobiography — that he is gaining an insight into the author's real character, as well as a knowledge of his various fortunes. We have room only to add, for the sake of those to whom the name of Hans Christian Andersen is new, that he was born, in 1805, on a small island of Denmark, passed his early years in the lowest condition of life, struggled for a long time with extreme poverty and its attendant difficulties, without allowing his temper to be soured or his faith either in God or man to be weakened, and finally, by his writings alone, which are distinguished not less by moral purity than by intellectual power, secured for himself a European reputation, such as but few, in the most favorable circumstances, have been able to acquire.

B—t.

Mary Anna; or a Visit to the Country. By a LADY. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1847. 18mo. pp. 107.

WE are not among those who believe it well to say to a little girl of seven years of age, "You have a sinful nature," or to teach her that Christ has promised to "present the guilty soul, washed in his atoning blood, to his Father in heaven." With the exceptions which this remark implies, we commend the "Visit to the Country," as a narrative which the young may read with pleasure and advantage.

B—t.

The Sick Chamber. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 50.

WE entirely agree with the "medical friend" of the publishers, who says, "I cordially recommend the work you sent me to

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all who are, either occasionally or as an occupation, called to perform those offices of the sick-chamber to which it relates." Its suggestions in regard to the methods and *manners* of the friends, as well as the nurses, of the sick, will meet with the instant assent of every one who has known the trial of long illness.

G.

The Parables of our Lord. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 34.

WE have received from Messrs. Appleton & Co. a copy of this beautiful volume, and do not hesitate to pronounce it the most complete specimen, in its kind, of typographical enterprise that has appeared in this country. The parables of our Lord are printed on parchment, each page surrounded by a deep and richly illuminated margin, the various devices for which, being different on every page, exhibit the ingenuity, as well as mechanical skill, of the artist. The volume is bound in heavy embossed covers, and is altogether a gem.

G.

Two Discourses on the Character of Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D. By DANIEL SHARP. Worcester. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

A Discourse commemorative of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, on Sabbath Evening, June 27, 1847. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Albany. 1847. 8vo. pp. 47.

Jesus the Best Teacher of his Religion. A Discourse delivered before the Graduating Class of the Cambridge Theological School, July 11, 1847. By SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 29.

A Discourse delivered before the Third Congregationalist Society in Cambridge, August 1, 1847, being the Sunday after the sudden Death of Lowell M. Stone. By A. B. MUZZEY, Pastor of the Lee Street Church, Cambridge. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 16.

Christ the Way. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. George M. Bartol, as Minister of the First Church of Christ in Lancaster, Mass., Wednesday, August 4, 1847. By CYRUS A. BARTOL, Junior Minister of West Church in Boston. With the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. C. T. THAYER; and the Charge, by Rev. ALONZO HILL. Lancaster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 50.

The Anniversary and Farewell Sermons, preached in the Hollis Street Meetinghouse, the former March 3, the latter Septem-

- ber 19, 1847. By DAVID FOSDICK, Jr., Minister of the Hollis Street Society. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.
- On Religious Decision.* (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 240.) Boston: Crosby & Nichols. July, 1847. 12mo. pp. 12.
- The Essential in Christianity.* (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 241.) August, 1847. 12mo. pp. 15.
- The Penalties of Sin.* (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 242.) September, 1847. 12mo. pp. 16.

Discourses on Medical Education, and on the Medical Profession. By JOHN WARE, M. D., Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the University at Cambridge. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 113.

Human Knowledge: a Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, August 26, 1847. By GEORGE P. MARSH. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 42.

A Statement of the Claims of Charles T. Jackson, M. D., to the Discovery of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether to the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations. By MARTIN GAY, M. D. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 47.

On the Pathological and Physiological Effects of Ethereal Inhalation. With an Appendix, containing an Additional Case and Experiments. By BUCKMINSTER BROWN, M. D. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 17.

Remarks on the Harvard Triennial. 12mo. pp. 12.

THE Discourses of Doctors Sharp and Sprague bear testimony to the sensation produced by the death of Dr. Chalmers beyond the circle in which he immediately moved, and are such as the reputation of their respective authors would entitle us to expect from their pens,—clear, graphic, and fervent.—Mr. May attempts no discussion of great topics, but with his usual straightforwardness and fervor urges the claims of practical Christianity as of more value than speculative theology, thus taking the ground which Unitarians have, as he says, occupied from the beginning, and which, if they are consistent, they must continue to occupy.—Mr. Muzzey's Discourse contains an affectionate tribute to the memory of one, who to the virtues which peculiarly endeared him to his friends added those Christian excellences which gave promise of a life of great usefulness, and caused his early death to be deplored as a public loss.—Mr. Bartol takes a rapid survey of the various substitutes for Christ, as the Church, theology, philosophy, and outward and exclusive reform, argues their futility, and pleads earnestly for the doctrine which teaches that to become

truly Christian we must go and sit at the feet of Jesus himself, allowing nothing to stand between the soul and him. — Without undertaking to pronounce judgment on the many “vexed questions” which have come up from time to time in relation to the Hollis Street society, we must give Mr. Fosdick credit for the independence and manliness with which he states the “condition and course of things,” the difficulties which environed his path, and the principles which have governed him. We cannot but add the expression of our hope that a better state of things may soon exist in that once large and prosperous society. — We are glad to learn that the Committee of the Unitarian Association have adopted the plan of publishing only original tracts, prepared for the purpose. The three tracts, the titles of which are given above, contain earnest and useful discussions of very important subjects, precisely what are wanted, and all the better for being brief and condensed. The Committee, as we learn, have been successful in securing the coöperation of such writers as give the best assurance of the accomplishment of their plan.

The first of Dr. Ware’s Discourses, on the Condition and Prospects of the Medical Profession, was read before the Massachusetts Medical Society in May last; the second and third were delivered before the Medical Class of Harvard University, one in 1843, on Medical Education, the other, which stands last in the series, in 1833, the subject being the Duties and Qualifications of Physicians. They are all marked by the author’s usual candor and good-sense, and present views worthy the attention of the public as well as of the profession. — Mr. Marsh, as is evident from his Discourse, had we no other proof, is a man who thinks; and though its style is not particularly easy and graceful, and it contains no passages of glowing eloquence, it evinces a taste for intellectual and scholarly pursuits, and a just appreciation of the nature and objects of “human knowledge.” — With the controversy about the person who is entitled to the credit of the discovery of the letheon, we have no desire to intermeddle, farther than to say that Dr. Jackson’s claim to a large share of the honor seems to us to be clearly substantiated by Dr. Gay’s pamphlet. — Dr. Brown presents some interesting facts in proof of the efficacy of the ethereal vapor as a means of relief from the suffering attendant on surgical operations. — The “Remarks on the Harvard Triennial,” though in their temper and tone not wholly to our taste, expose grave errors of the publication reviewed, one of a class of documents which, it may be feared, are often, in all our institutions, issued without a sufficient attention to that accuracy which is an indispensable condition of excellence. This timely correction, therefore, may be useful in awakening attention, both at Cambridge and elsewhere, to a too much neglected subject.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record.—We have fewer ministerial changes to notice than usual, and our intelligence under this head, we are glad to observe, will refer rather to the commencement and continuance than to the close of professional engagements. Rev. Mr. Fosdick, who, we stated in our last number, had given notice that his connection with the Hollis Street society in Boston would terminate at the expiration of six months, has withdrawn entirely from that connection. — Rev. Mr. Pettes having relinquished his ministry at Sharon, Rev. Mr. Stone, late of Brewster, has taken charge of the pulpit for the winter. — Rev. Mr. Maynard, formerly of Needham, has removed to Dennis, in compliance with an invitation from the society in that place. — Rev. Mr. Richardson has dissolved his pastoral relation to the church at Southington, Conn., and become the minister of the congregation in Haverhill, Mass. — Rev. Mr. Allen, late of (Jamaica Plain) Roxbury, has accepted an invitation to become the permanent minister of the church at Washington, D. C. — Rev. Mr. Edes, who had resigned his connection with the people at Bolton, has acceded to their request to remain with them. — Rev. Mr. Clapp, at the close of a year's engagement with the society at West Roxbury, has renewed his engagement for an indefinite time. — Rev. Mr. Tilden, late of Concord, N. H., will supply the pulpit at Dover, N. H., through the winter. — Rev. Mr. Harrington, late of Albany, N. Y., will preach to the Unitarian society recently formed in Lawrence during the winter. — Rev. Mr. Rice, late of Mendon, will occupy the pulpit at Belfast, Me., for the winter. — Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, Mo., having returned from Europe with confirmed health, is on his way to resume his ministerial duties in that city. — Rev. Mr. Clapp of New Orleans has also returned from Europe with improved health.

Autumnal Convention.—The sixth Unitarian Autumnal Convention was held at Salem, Mass., on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of October, 1847, and, with possibly one exception, was inferior to none which had preceded it in point of interest or value. Ample accommodation had been provided for the meetings of the Convention, and the houses of our Salem friends were thrown open for the reception of guests with unstinted hospitality. The weather was delightful, and the attendance larger than on previous occasions of a similar kind. We were unable to ascertain the number of ministers present, but it was very considerable; and of laymen, and of ladies, not only did Salem furnish a large representation, but many were present from Boston and its neighbourhood, and several from places much more remote. All the meetings were crowded from their commencement to their close. A committee composed of members from the four Unitarian societies of the city had, in connection with the committee appointed for the purpose at the last Convention, made all the necessary arrangements, which were carried out

with entire success. The Convention held its sessions successively in three of the four Unitarian meetinghouses, the other not being in a condition for public use, as it was undergoing repairs; while the evening religious services were attended in a hall, of much larger dimensions than either of the churches, which was completely filled. Social entertainments were provided for Tuesday and Wednesday evenings in a smaller hall, where the members of the Convention were received by the ladies, whose presence gave to their hospitality a special attraction. Nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the meetings, but, on the contrary, they increased in interest from the beginning, till we presume that we express the common judgment in saying that the session of the Convention on Thursday morning was one of the most delightful ever held. The speaking was unusually good. Considered merely as affording specimens of extemporaneous address, we have never listened to discussions that gave us a deeper impression of excellence. There was variety of opinion, but no discord; many speakers, but no confusion; freedom of remark, but no unpleasant collision of feeling. On the contrary, as on other similar occasions, in every one present the conviction must have been strengthened that Unitarians can differ without losing mutual respect or love. And this, we think, is one of the great benefits, perhaps the chief use, of these semiannual gatherings, — that they show more clearly than can be seen in our more formal anniversary meetings that we are true to our own principles of independence of judgment and liberality of sentiment. Year after year we have returned from the Autumnal Convention with a firmer persuasion that Unitarians have discovered the true secret of union amidst differences, and that they may be trusted for the maintenance of Christian sympathies under great variety of intellectual or theological conclusions. The meeting this year was distinguished more than on previous years by the attention given to questions of philanthropic interest, while less than usual was said upon our peculiar doctrinal opinions. And here, too, was exhibited a freedom, which, instead of confining the discussions to subjects of dogmatic or ecclesiastical interest, allowed them to reflect the aspect of the times. The only regret, we believe, which was felt by any one, was the limitation of time, which obliged the Convention to hasten its proceedings at the close, in consequence of the engagement of many of its members at another important meeting in Boston.

The Convention was called to order by Rev. Mr. Osgood, chairman of the committee of arrangements, on Tuesday afternoon, at 4 o'clock, in the Barton Square chapel. Hon. Stephen Fairbanks was chosen Chairman, and G. F. Thayer, Esq., Secretary *pro tem*. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington. A committee of nomination was appointed, that reported a list of officers for the Convention, who were unanimously chosen; viz. Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord, Mass., *President*; Rev. John Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., Hon. Robert Rantoul of Beverly, Mass., Rev. Edward B. Hall of Providence, R. I., and Hon. Albert Fearing of Boston, Mass., *Vice-Presidents*; Rev. Abiel A. Livermore of Keene, N. H., and Francis Alger, jr., Esq., of Boston, *Secretaries*. The committee of arrangements appointed at the last Convention stated that they should report resolutions at the opening of the meeting the next morning, to which time the Convention was accordingly adjourned.

At 5 o'clock a tea-party was held in Hamilton Hall, furnished and

served by the ladies of the four Unitarian congregations in Salem. At 7 o'clock religious services were attended in Mechanic Hall, an apartment well suited, both from its size and its arrangements, for the purposes of public worship; where, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford, a discourse was preached by Rev. Frederick A. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., from 1 Corinthians x. 15, on the propriety of denominational organization, when freed from the vices of sectarianism.

On Wednesday, October 20, the Convention assembled in the East church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg. The committee of arrangements proposed certain "rules of order, to facilitate the discussions," which were adopted. The same committee also presented a series of resolutions for the consideration of the Convention, which were read and then taken up singly for discussion. The first resolution was in these words:—

Resolved, That, assembling in this place, distinguished for more than two centuries by the principle of Congregational independence, we deem this a proper occasion for reaffirming our respect for that principle, our conviction of its happy bearing upon whatever is best in our New England institutions and character; and that we would seriously urge upon our churches the importance of quickening the religious life of the individual parish by every means that shall promote its freedom and order, its zeal and influence.

Having been supported by remarks from Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington, it was passed by a unanimous vote. The same unanimity marked the passage of all the resolutions. The second resolution called forth remarks from Rev. Messrs. Bellows of New York, Muzzey of Cambridge, and Stetson of Medford, Samuel St. John, Esq., of Newport, R. I., H. H. Fuller, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Rev. Mr. Very, and Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem, Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, and Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington, and was then accepted by the Convention:—

Resolved, That, congratulating ourselves upon the large measure of fraternal coöperation that we have enjoyed one with the other, upon the ground of a liberal faith, and determined to continue that coöperation, we cordially rejoice in the increasing manifestation of a congenial spirit in various Christian quarters, earnestly desire a true catholicity of communion, and upon the broad basis of the Gospel fervently hope to give and receive a Christian fellowship that shall be as cheering as it is enlarged.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Boston, a hymn was sung, and an adjournment took place to the afternoon.

At 2 o'clock the Convention again met, in the First church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell. The third resolution reported by the committee having been read, remarks were made by Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, Mo., Mr. G. G. Channing of Boston, Samuel St. John, Esq., of Newport, R. I., Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Mr. A. B. Fuller of Cambridge, and Rev. Messrs. Hall of Providence, R. I., Gannett of Boston, and Hincks of London, England; after which the resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That we deem Christianity as essentially diffusive in its spirit, and that, whilst we rejoice to unite with our fellow-Christians of every name in common labors of piety and charity, we are called to do an especial work in our own peculiar field, and are in duty bound to strive to

extend the principles that we hold dear, especially by circulating the writings of our gifted fathers, such as Channing and Ware, and by sustaining more generously than hitherto the Association that has been continued with such usefulness amongst us.

The fourth resolution having been read, gave rise to remarks from Rev. Messrs. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., and Thomas of Boston, Moses Grant, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, and was then passed : —

Resolved, That whilst we value Christianity for the peculiar authority and sanctions of its revelations, we regard these, in connection with all its doctrines and institutions, as the means of cherishing practical religion and establishing the kingdom of God among men ; and that the great indifference with which so large a portion of the Christian world treat the great social vices and oppressions of our time moves us to bear our testimony more earnestly than ever in behalf of the piety and humanity of the Gospel, and against the spirit of intemperance, warfare, slavery, general excess, and discord.

The Convention then, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Weiss of Watertown and the singing of a hymn, adjourned to the next morning, and the members repaired to Hamilton Hall, to partake again of the entertainment provided by their female friends. After enjoying the refreshment of tea and social converse, brief addresses were made by Hon. S. C. Phillips of Salem, Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, and Rev. Messrs. Stetson of Medford, Bellows of New York, and Osgood of Providence.

At 7 o'clock religious services were attended, as on the previous evening, at Mechanic Hall. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, and a sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, from Luke xii. 13, on the method of Jesus in reference to the errors and sins of the world, as applicable to our day.

On Thursday the Convention met, at 8½ o'clock, in the Barton Square church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence. The fifth resolution prepared by the committee was read, and gave occasion to remarks from Rev. Messrs. Thomas of Boston, Lincoln of Fitchburg, Sanger of Dover, Bellows of New York, Palfrey of Barnstable, Muzzey of Cambridge, Stetson of Medford, and Osgood of Providence, and was then adopted : —

Resolved, That we regard the present pursuit of wealth and prominence of materialistic influences with solicitude, but not with despair ; and that, in this our nineteenth century, we deem it to be peculiarly the mission of Christians to lift the minds of the people above the thralldom of second causes to the worship of the great First Cause, alike by an enlarged spiritual faith and an earnest practical devotion.

The next resolution was passed without debate, viz. : —

Resolved, That Rev. Messrs. Hill of Worcester, Thompson of Salem, Ellis of Charlestown, H. B. Rogers, Esq., of Boston, and C. S. Daveis, Esq., of Portland, be the Committee of Arrangements for the next Autumnal Convention.

A resolution relating to the present war with Mexico, which had been offered by a member of the Convention at the close of the previous meeting, and was then referred to the committee of arrangements, was

now reported by them in an amended form, and was discussed by Samuel Greele, Esq., and Rev. Messrs. Gannett and Clarke of Boston; after which a motion to lay it on the table, as proposing action irrelevant to the purposes of the Convention, prevailed.

Some debate arising in regard to the place at which the next Convention should be held, it was voted that the selection of the place be left to the committee just chosen.

The seventh resolution proposed by the committee of arrangements having been read, its passage was advocated by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, and it was adopted: —

Resolved, That we regard the proceedings of this Convention as indicating and promoting a real harmony and efficient coöperation among the members, and throughout the Unitarian body.

The eighth resolution, being last in order, was read, and after appropriate remarks by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, was adopted by the members of the Convention, standing: —

Resolved, That, recognizing with tender and solemn interest the decease of lamented brethren, Rev. Dr. Peabody and others, we deeply sympathize with their bereaved families, and express our gratitude to Divine Providence for the power of their lives, and the treasure of their memories.

Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem then, in a brief speech, expressed his thanks to the Convention for their attendance and the pleasure the various meetings had given to the people of Salem.

Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence offered a resolution, which he sustained by a few remarks, and which, after a slight amendment, was passed as follows: —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the brethren and sisters of Salem for the elegant hospitality to which its members have been welcomed, and for the happy hours which they have passed together.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, and the Convention was dissolved.

American Unitarian Association. — A special meeting of this body was held at the chapel in Bedford Street, Boston, October 21, 1847, "for the choice of a Secretary, and the transaction of such other business as might legally come before it." After prayer by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Charlestown, a letter was read from Rev. William G. Eliot, in which, while he expressed a deep interest in the Association and a strong sense of the importance of the office of Secretary, to which he had been elected at the last annual meeting, he declined the appointment, from a conviction of duty growing out of his peculiar relations to the church in St. Louis. Various propositions were then submitted, in regard to the course which should be taken for filling the office, and an adjournment became necessary to the afternoon; when, after considerable discussion, it was voted to proceed to ballot for an election among several candidates whose names had been put upon a nomination list. After two unsuccessful attempts the balloting was suspended, and it was voted, "that the whole subject of the election of Secretary be referred back to the Executive Committee, to take such action as they may think best." Some inquiries were then made, and discussion arose in regard to the salary

of the present incumbent of the office, which resulted in a vote, "that the Secretary *pro tem.* be paid at the rate of \$2000 *per annum* up to the present time, and hereafter at the rate of \$1500 *per annum* up to the time of the election of a Secretary and his acceptance of the office." The meeting was then adjourned *sine die*.

Ordinations and Installations. — REV. WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER of Boston, who lately graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained as Minister of the Mount Pleasant Congregational Society in ROXBURY, MASS., September 8, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from 2 Corinthians ii. 16; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Alger of Marlborough; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Hale of Worcester; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Huntington of Boston, Hall of Dorchester, and Thomas of Boston.

REV. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, a graduate of the last year from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Minister of the First Religious Society in NEWBURYPORT, MASS., September 15, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Channing of Boston, from Revelation ii. 7; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Fox of Boston; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Clarke of Boston and Nichols of Saco, Me.

REV. FREDERICK NEWMAN KNAPP of Walpole, N. H., a graduate of the last class at the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the First Congregational Church and Society in BROOKLINE, MASS., as Colleague Pastor with Rev. John Peirce, D. D., October 6, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from Romans vii. 22-25; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Hill of Waltham; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Willis of Walpole, N. H., Whitney of Brighton, and Higginson of Newburyport.

REV. GEORGE S. BALL of Leominster, Mass., who recently graduated from the Meadville Theological School, was ordained over the Unitarian Church and Society in WARE, MASS., October 13, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, from Luke xxiii. 54; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Wellington of Templeton; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Nightingale of Cabotville; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Nute of Petersham, Loring of Andover, and Bond of Barre

OBITUARY.

REV. MARK A. H. NILES died at Belfast, Me., August 17, 1847, aged 41 years.

Mr. Niles had just returned to his native State and the scenes of his early life ; having been born at Deer Isle, from which place, however, he went in his youth to reside at Newburyport. Having finished his collegiate and professional studies, the former at Amherst, he accepted an appointment as Professor of Languages in Indiana College, and resided sometime at the West. Returning to New England, he became the pastor of a Trinitarian Congregational church in Marblehead, where he secured and continued to enjoy the affectionate and grateful regards of his people, till, in consequence of declining health, he left his pulpit, and became Agent of the American Seaman's Friend Society. While in this employment, his mind passed through a change of theological belief. He was soon after settled as minister of the Second Unitarian society in Lowell, and in that position, while discharging a faithful ministry, won the esteem of all who knew him. Having received an invitation to Belfast, which opened to him, as he thought, prospects of greater usefulness, he resigned his charge at Lowell, and was installed over the First Congregational church and society in Belfast, on the 11th of last August. He was at that time suffering from a slow fever, induced by fatigue, and was able to be present during only a part of the services of installation. No one, however, apprehended a fatal termination of his illness, nor did there seem to be any occasion for anxiety, till a few moments before his death, when he quietly sank into that rest which brought freedom and bliss to his spirit.

Mr. Niles was a man of great worth, which he had shown under circumstances that put his character to the test. Meek, but firm ; faithful to his convictions, and faithful in his duties ; a scholar, and a Christian ; a warm friend, and a devoted minister ; he merited the estimation in which he was held alike by those with whom his earlier and those with whom later religious associations connected him. The theological opinions which he had honestly held he relinquished as soon as he became convinced of their erroneous character, preserving, however, his mildness of temper and avoiding the asperity of feeling to which many are tempted by a transfer of their sectarian connections. His settlement at Belfast promised him a home of quiet labor with signal opportunities of usefulness, on which he was ready to enter with his whole heart. But it pleased Him whose love is wiser than our judgment to remove him at the moment when he seemed to have found the place which he could fill to the greatest advantage, and with the greatest satisfaction, on earth. Other services and more permanent enjoyment awaited him above ; while to the congregation called to such a peculiar bereavement remain the consolations of trust in a perfect Providence, and to us all the counsels that may be drawn from such an unexpected destruction of mortal hopes.

G.

BENJAMIN MERRILL, LL. D., died at Salem, Mass., July 30, 1847, aged 65 years.

Mr. Merrill was a native of Conway, N. H., a graduate of Harvard College, and for nearly forty years an inhabitant of Salem, engaged

in a very large professional practice. As a man, universally esteemed for integrity of character and kindness of heart; as a lawyer, widely consulted and implicitly trusted; as a politician, acknowledged by all to be alike able and honest; as a friend, warmly beloved; and as a Christian, observed for the interest he took in religious institutions and the example he set of personal faithfulness; he has left a name honorable to himself, and dear, not only to the circle within whose affections he was cherished, but to the community to whom his death must long be an occasion of grief. Mr. Merrill repeatedly declined those situations in public life which his fellow-citizens were anxious to bestow on him, nor did he ever form those domestic connections which give the greatest depth to personal influence; yet few men made themselves more felt in society, or held more responsible trusts. His death was unexpected, and took place when he was sitting alone, occupied with his usual studies. G.

HON. JOSEPH GOWING KENDALL died at Worcester, Mass., October 2, 1847, aged 59 years.

A native of Leominster, Mass., a graduate of Harvard University, a tutor for five years in that institution, a practising lawyer in the place of his birth, a Senator of this Commonwealth, a Representative for two successive terms in Congress, and for fourteen years the clerk of the courts of the county of Worcester, in all these stations he discharged his duties with fidelity and won the confidence and affection of the community. Possessing a cultivated mind and refined intellectual tastes, he could fully appreciate whatever is beautiful in thought or expression. He had no great love for the dry forms of his profession, but was attracted more by productions of genius or the wonders and beauties of nature. He was especially interested in Biblical study, and welcomed with unabated delight the more expanded views which these studies never fail to impart. Gentlemanly in his deportment, unobtrusive in his manners, kind and considerate in his judgment, distrustful of himself, and gentle towards all men, his entire worth was concealed by his unaffected modesty; and was revealed only when that modesty could be no longer offended by human praise. But the trait which most distinguished Mr. Kendall was his unpretending goodness of heart, as seen in his readiness to do good wherever and whenever he might. While some men, who wish to do good, must do it in their own way, — as it falls in with their tastes, habits, and chosen pursuits, — he was disposed to do good in any way and by any means. It was not in his view a condescension, but a great privilege, the truest work of a responsible and accountable being. For many years he was a teacher and superintendent in the Sunday school of the society to which he belonged; faithful in his own religious culture, and always to be relied on for heart and hand in every project for social and religious improvement. At his death, besides making a liberal provision for a large circle of kindred and friends, as a testimony to his enlightened interest in the welfare of the community, he left a bequest of \$1000 to the American Unitarian Association, and \$4000 to the American Bible Society. He died after a short and painful illness, sustained by the religion which had guided him in life, peacefully, at last, passing away to the world for which his faith and devotion had been a constant preparation. H.

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JULY, 1847.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM CROSBY.

NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.

LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 121 NEWGATE STREET.

1847.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

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N^o. CXLIII.
FOURTH SERIES.—No. XXIII.
SEPTEMBER, 1847.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM CROSBY.

NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.

LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 142 STRAND.

1847.

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
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